

THE DIVINE COMEDY IN ENGLISH

A Critical Bibliography of Dante Translation, 1782-1954

by

GILBERT F. CUNNINGHAM

A L V A

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FOREWORD

A few years ago I was asked by an editor, who knew my interest in medieval studies and particularly in Dante, to review a new English translation of part of the Divine Comedy. While reading it, I realised that I was very ignorant on the subject of such translations; and it seemed to me that I must find out more about those already in the field before appraising the latest addition. I had been familiar with Cary since childhood, and I had used Carlyle and Longfellow when learning Italian; apart from that I knew only the names of one or two other translators from chance references or occasional extracts - I supposed there might be anything from a dozen to a score in all. On having recourse to that mine of information, the bibliographies of Paget Toynbee, I was astonished to find that in the year 1921 there were in print 29 English versions of the complete Comedy, 22 of the Inferno alone, 9 of the Purgatorio and 4 of the Paradiso (i.e. 122 cantiche altogether), besides a large number of incomplete versions, ranging from single episodes to bulky selections, as well as several unprinted renderings existing in manuscript. A little more trouble was necessary to locate the translations made since 1921, but at that date there appeared to be 9 complete Comedies, 5 Infernos and 1 Paradiso (i.e. 33 cantiche), so it was evident that there was no falling off in the rate of Dante translation. It may be added here that in the four years that have elapsed since then a further 4 cantiche have appeared, bringing the total to 159 and involving 76 translators.

About this time Werner P. Friederich's book, Dante's Fame Abroad (referred to in fuller detail later), whetted my curiosity further, for it showed that, up to 1850 at least, that being its terminal date, trans-

lation of the Divine Comedy had been proceeding on a similar scale in other European countries. Fuller details regarding this are given in Appendix III: up to date there are well over 100 cantiche in German and not far short of 100 in French.

Another book, published not long before, induced a new train of thought: Half a Hundred Thralls to Faust by Adolf Ingram Frantz (Chapel Hill, 1949), containing an account of the 48 English translations of one or both parts of Goethe's Faust then existing (within a year the full tale of 50 was made up by the publication of two further versions). A rough investigation showed that France possessed over thirty Faust translations. Considering the much later date of Goethe's masterpiece, it seemed correct to say that the Divine Comedy and Faust are equally popular poems with translators; and it further appeared, after such checks as could readily be made, that their degree of popularity in this kind far exceeds that of any other considerable literary work in post-classical times. The Divine Comedy contains over 14,000 lines, Faust over 12,000, so in each case the work of translation is of much the same magnitude. Their unique record indicated that this body of translations formed an ideal field for research into every department of study connected with the theory and practice of rendering poetry from one language to another.

The first essential seemed to be a critical bibliography of the English versions of the Divine Comedy. Thanks to the labours of Paget Toynbee and others, the task of preparing a complete list was not difficult. To collect the books themselves was not so easy: the first few visits to Charing Cross Road and similar centres were highly productive, but by the time roughly half the extant translations had been procured, the rate of acquisition slowed down, and such expedients as advertising

brought little result. Libraries were the next resort, and the excellent facilities available, of which due acknowledgment is made below, went far towards providing the rest. In the end only a very few of the translations had to be studied in non-lending libraries; all the others were made available for detailed examination during a reasonable period.

It seemed equally important to find out something about the translators: their background, the nature of their interest in Dante, their motives in tackling the task of translation, their equipment, their other literary achievements and so on. While this was fairly easy with some of them, a great many proved very difficult to identify; but one or two strokes of luck during the first phase of the investigation gave encouragement, and all except a few have emerged as personalities.

The object of the following pages is to present the fullest possible array of facts regarding the English translators of the Divine Comedy or substantial portions thereof; to give specimens of each translation together with a critical appraisal; to draw at least some preliminary conclusions from the results with regard to the principles on which the translation of poetry has been and should be based, as well as to its historical development, its relation to contemporary thought, and its value as a department of literature; and lastly to give a brief glance at the corresponding achievements in other languages, with perhaps a side-glance at the parallel stream of Faust translations. In the main only translations extending to at least one completed cantica have been dealt with, so that the record begins in the year 1782 with the appearance of Rogers' *Inferno*; incidentally until that year not even a single complete canto of the Divine Comedy had been printed in English.

National Library of Scotland, the British Museum, and the Bodleian, I have received much courteous assistance; and the Library of Congress in Washington has helped me both with the loan of books, unobtainable in this country, and with information.

In my search, especially for biographical details, I have sought the help of a large number of local libraries, town and county councils, universities and colleges both in Britain and America, societies and organisations of different kinds, publishers, booksellers, and private individuals, including some of the translators themselves. My appeals have almost invariably met with a generous response, ^{which has} ~~and have~~ gone far to making this work possible.

For advice, always ~~so~~ necessary in matters that are hard of judgment, I have been able to rely on friends whose knowledge and wisdom I value highly; and here I should like to mention in particular the names of John V. Skinner, M.A., my collaborator in a previous enterprise of translation, and my unfailing guide in the dark wood; William R. Aitken, M.A., F.L.A., whose knowledge of books and libraries has ever been at my disposal; and Jethro Bithell, M.A., known to the public mainly for ~~his~~ German studies, whose interest in this work from its origin has been in no way damped by the six hundred miles that separate his home from mine.

An immense amount of typewriting has been required - not merely that of the text and appendices, but also of the large number of extracts made from borrowed books and the sets of test passages which were put into convenient form for examination and assessment. This work has been valiantly tackled by several members of my office staff, to whom I am very grateful.

Last, and perhaps most important of all, I must record my gratitude to my wife, who has had to share me with Dante for so many years.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- D.E.L. Paget Toynbee: Dante in English Literature from
Chaucer to Cary (c. 1380-1844), 2 vols.,
London, 1909
- B.T.D. Paget Toynbee: Britain's Tribute to Dante in
Literature and Art, A Chronological Record of
540 years (c. 1380-1920), London, 1921
- D.A.P. Angela La Piana: Dante's American Pilgrimage,
New Haven, 1948
- D.F.A. Werner P. Friederich: Dante's Fame Abroad,
1350-1850, Rome, 1950
- D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography

THE DIVINE COMEDY IN ENGLISH

Dante himself tells us that he was admitted to the band of the five great poets in Limbo, 'al ch'lo fui meco tra cotanto scemo', and it is likely that he thought of the association as more than a temporary one. Events have justified his optimism: most lists of the world's six greatest poets would include Dante's name, and the place of the others on his own list would be displaced. Not that the others are worth weeding, for no man should be pronounced inferior to Dante.

VOLUME ONE:

INTRODUCTION

MAJOR TRANSLATORS TO END OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

against each other as Virgil did in *The Frogs* but Dante's immense prestige is a matter of fact, not of theory. Indubious a lot of it is merely service; and admittedly there have been some competent judges who disliked him, including, in Goethe, another poet of approximately equal rank. There are others, more or less competent, who have made a point of expressing their dislike, from Voltaire, through our own Leigh Hunt and Walter Savage Landor, down to perhaps the most vocal of all, Dr Burton Spence, a contemporary American debunker, who annihilates the reputations of Sophocles, Virgil, Dante and Milton all in a single volume, *History of Literature* (London, 1933). Yet has Dante always been fortunate in his friends; like most poets he has been frequently commended for his least creditable performance, as we shall have occasion to notice more than once when dealing with his translators. One of the most recent of these says in the last paragraph of a very short foreword:

The Comedy may be read in various ways: as an exciting adventure story, as the poet's vindication of his political action, as a love story, as a compend of history, science and theology, and as a progress of political world organization which, if it could have been adapted in the fourteenth century, or with only superficial modifications day before yesterday, might have saved the world a deal of destruction. It is indeed all of these things, but it is also a poem, the power and beauty of which no translation can utterly conceal.

INTRODUCTION

Dante himself tells us that he was admitted to the band of the five great poets in Limbo, 'sì ch'io fui sesto tra cotanto senno', and it is likely that he thought of the association as more than a temporary one. Events have justified his optimism; most lists of the world's six greatest poets would include Dante's name, although several of the others on his own list would be displaced. Not that such lists are worth making, for no man should be presumptuous enough to weigh the products of supreme genius against each other as Dionysus did in The Frogs; but Dante's immense prestige is a matter of fact, not of theory. Doubtless a lot of it is mere lip service; and admittedly there have been some competent judges who disliked him, including, in Goethe, another poet of approximately equal rank. There are others, more or less competent, who have made a point of expressing their dislike, from Voltaire, through our own Leigh Hunt and Walter Savage Landor, down to perhaps the most vocal of all, Dr Burton Rascoe, a contemporary American debunker, who annihilates the reputations of Sophocles, Virgil, Dante and Milton all in a single volume, Titans of Literature (London, 1933). Nor has Dante always been fortunate in his friends; like most poets he has been frequently commended for his least creditable performances, as we shall have occasion to notice more than once when dealing with his translators. One of the most recent of these says in the last paragraph of a very short foreword:

The Comedy may be read in various ways: as an exciting adventure story, as the poet's vindication of his political action, as a love story, as a compend of history, science and theology, and as a program of political world organisation which, if it could have been adopted in the fourteenth century, or with only superficial modifications day before yesterday, might have saved the world a deal of destruction. It is indeed all of these things, but it is also a poem, the power and beauty of which no translation can utterly conceal.

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Too often, alas, the Divine Comedy is discovered to be 'also a poem' in the last sentence. Too often, likewise, those who believe that poetry has some sort of salvation to offer the world seek it in something extraneous to the poetry. Moreover the Divine Comedy is poetry of a very special kind. Here we may quote another concluding paragraph, but it is a confession of faith rather than an afterthought. On the last page of his scholarly work, Dante as a Political Thinker (Oxford, 1952), Professor A. P. d'Entrèves writes:

A full appraisal of the Divina Commedia is impossible unless it is granted - as scholars are coming more and more to realise - that Dante's poem is a prophetic, and indeed - in so far as the word can mean anything to the modern mind - an inspired book.

We are still struggling to-day to escape from ideas which crystallised during the nineteenth century in various forms: economic utilitarianism, scientific determinism, intellectual liberalism. We have long ago dismissed them as Victorian, but they keep recurring in a multitude of disguises. Paradoxically enough, Dante came into his own in Britain during an age in which the ideas which he held as fundamental were one by one being discarded, in which the emancipation he hated and dreaded was in full swing, in which the gospel of man's self-sufficiency was rapidly superseding that of man's need. We may be disillusioned, but we cannot blink the fact that more than nine tenths of the world's inhabitants are still pinning their faith to the first of these gospels in one form or another.

Perhaps then, after all, we should consider adopting Dante's 'program'. Might we not persuade UNO to include its consideration in the agenda for some forthcoming world conference? Unfortunately there is a snag. Dante's programme, so far as he had one, was completely subordinate to Dante's faith, so that we should have to begin by incor^{or}porating

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Paradiso XXIV in one of the schedules. Or rather, since Dante did not trouble himself about originality where matters of common knowledge were concerned, we might refer instead to the Epistle to the Hebrews and some other parts of the New Testament. Then, having done so, we might return to Dante to find a fitting tailpiece:

Quest'è il principio, quest'è la favilla
che si dilata in fiamma poi vivace,
e come stella in cielo in me scintilla.

At this point the suspicious reader may exclaim that this is merely an attempt to extract a sermon from Dante instead of a programme, to single out Dante the theologian instead of Dante the politician, to substitute one outworn notion for another. Just here there exists a widespread misapprehension. Having decided that such concepts as 'purpose' and 'message' are foreign to art, we are ready to fly to the opposite extreme from our Victorian ancestors and condemn as bad art anything that shows a hint of the despised 'message'. But art, whatever else it may be, is primarily a record of experience; it is based on life itself. If it is true experience, then it contains within itself, explicit or implicit, 'all complexities of mire and blood':

Sustanze e accidenti e lor costume,
quasi conflati insieme, per tal modo
che ciò ch' i' dico è un semplice lume.

Art is a synthesis, whereas all our sciences and philosophies are analytical. Any work of art will furnish us with an abundance of programmes, sermons, and what not, because it consists of the same stuff as the life from which all our ideas are necessarily drawn. But the programme or sermon, however excellent, is derivative; the message it conveys may well be our own rather than the artist's.

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Connected with this there is another complication. However much we may admire formal beauty in poetry it is impossible ultimately to divorce it from content. Expression is meaningless unless there is something to express - although our century has seen a few attempts to prove the contrary. Our final judgments relate to values. If we do not think Dante's subject matter important, we are unlikely to be deeply moved by the Divine Comedy, or moved in the wrong way. Leigh Hunt filled his essay on Dante with impassioned eulogies of some isolated passages and equally impassioned condemnations of Dante's conception as a whole. At the end of his summary of the Inferno he writes:

At the close of this medley of genius, pathos, absurdity, sublimity, horror, and revoltingness, it is impossible for any reflecting heart to avoid asking, Cui bono? What is the good of it to the poor wretches, if we are to suppose it true? and what to the world - except, indeed, as a poetic study and a warning against degrading notions of God - if we are to take it as a fiction? Theology, disdaining both questions, has an answer confessedly incomprehensible. Humanity replies: Assume not premises for which you have worse than no proofs.

The perfect rejoinder to this came not from a theologian, not even from a Christian, but from a young agnostic of twenty-eight who had himself already translated the Inferno into terza rima, Charles Bagot Cayley. Poor Cayley was not nearly such a good poet as Hunt, and his Divine Comedy has long been forgotten, but he knew something about religion and about Dante which the author of Abou ben Adhem never found out, for he wrote in his preface:

Leigh Hunt evidently translates Dante with a peculiar reluctance and disrelish, which has grown no doubt from the mean idea he entertains of the moral greatness and wisdom in him: for a utilitarian philanthropist must always have a mean idea of the Singer of God's Righteousness, who proclaims a principle of retribution to overrule 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'.

Cayley's lack of orthodoxy deterred Miss Rossetti from marrying him, but he shared with Dante the essential knowledge that man's salvation

is not a matter of creeds or programmes, but a miracle that takes place in his own soul. It is this interior drama that is unfolded in the vast eschatological panorama of the Divine Comedy, a fact of which Hunt seems to have been oblivious. Only when that has been realised does its multiplicity of description and incident come into focus. Even while this dispute was in progress, a voice was crying in the Danish wilderness, the echoes of which took half a century to reach the ears of the so-called liberals and progressives; to Hunt and his contemporaries, had they heard them, the words of Søren Kierkegaard might well have seemed madness, for he, like Dante, was little concerned with the question, Cui bono?

We need hardly waste time here dealing with Dr Burton Rascoe. A cursory perusal of his book reveals so many factual errors as to make one doubt his knowledge of the poets he is so eager to discredit. Apart from this, the hum of the bees which buzz in his bonnet so often drowns the voice of reason as to suggest the futility of using the battering-ram of logical argument in an attack on Cloud-Cuckoo-Land. We shall pass on meantime to the English translations, which are our main business, and postpone further remarks on the value of Dante's poetry until we have examined them.

The first English translation of a complete cantica of the Divine Comedy to appear in print was Charles Rogers' Inferno in 1782. Some seventy years later, in 1854, there existed in English 7 versions of the complete Comedy and 6 of the Inferno alone. During the century that has elapsed since then we have had a further 32 Comedies, plus 20 Infernos, 11 Purgatorios and 6 Paradisos, besides various volumes of selections and several unprinted translations. In other words, on an average, a new cantica has appeared every nine months for the last hundred years.

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During that century, over sixty men and women, having to some extent at least mastered the original, have thought it worth while to expend their time and energy on the superficially hopeless and unrewarding task of turning anything from 5,000 to 15,000 lines of verse into what must necessarily be an inferior form, and many of them have expended their money as well in having their work privately printed or in subsidising its publication. Yet until 1782, 460 years after Dante's death, there existed no English translation of so much as one complete canto, let alone a cantica. Among the English poets only Chaucer and Milton, and to a less extent Spenser and Gray, had discovered Dante. By the beginning of the seventeenth century Petrarch, Ariosto and Tasso were all established favourites, but the English literary world appeared to share the view of Ben Jonson's Lady Politick in Volpone: 'Dante is hard, and few can understand him.'

The reasons for this neglect have been discussed and analysed by various writers. In general it may be said that Dante was uncongenial alike to the Renaissance and the Reformation, being as it were a medieval relic, with whose ideas and methods of expression the new age was out of sympathy. But not only was he too Catholic for the Protestants; he was also too Protestant for the Catholics: his outspokenness on some subjects, and in particular his diatribes against the popes of his time, made him an object of suspicion, nor was it until the promulgation of Benedict XV's encyclical on the occasion of the sexcentenary in 1921 that the study of Dante was fully approved by the Church of Rome. As for the Protestants, when they did begin to translate the Divine Comedy they were at first a little uncertain as to what line they ought to take. Quite a few of them apologised for their author's extravagances, and explained that his grave errors in matters of religion were not so much his fault as his misfortune

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in having been born when he was. Bolder spirits discovered in him an early Reformer, and even hailed him as a precursor of Luther. By the mid-century, however, these hesitations had been abandoned. Macaulay and Carlyle had set Dante securely on his pedestal; Dean Church's famous essay appeared in 1850; Tennyson, Browning and Ruskin all made their admiration known; the voices of Hunt and Landor were stilled. Dante was as a matter of course described as 'sublime', although many of those who used the word seem to have been rather vague as to its significance. In translators' prefaces much stress was laid on the high moral tone of the Comedy, and this emphasis lasted well into the present century. By the 1870s the increasing interest in Dante scholarship also began to make itself felt. As the scientific outlook developed, research of all kinds became the recognised pursuit of the Dantophile. This enthusiasm affected all Europe, for it was a symptom of the age, but in the latter part of the century it was Germany and Britain who ran neck-and-neck at the head of the race. The text of Dante became a battle-ground, both in matters of reading and interpretation; his scanty biography was subjected to the most minute scrutiny; the history and geography of medieval Italy, along with thirteenth-century politics, philosophy, theology, law, medicine, poetry, painting, in fact every department of life, had to be at the finger-tips of the writer who took Dante for his subject. This was the heyday of prose translations, until then scarce, for only in prose could justice be done to Dante's exact meaning. It was also an opportunity for the experimentalists; towards the close of the century a surprising number of translators found that something different from the contorted terza rima or bald blank verse of their predecessors was necessary to put Dante at his ease in English. Early in the new century the prose versions went out of fashion and the experimental ones

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tailed off. Then with the 1920s came the revival of terza rima as well as a great resurgence of interest in Dante as a poet first and foremost. Before speaking of this let us glance for a moment across the Atlantic.

From the mid-century onwards America also had been taking part in the vogue for Dante. At the beginning of 1865 the only American translations of any extent were those of Parsons (1843) and Peabody (1857) both consisting of *Inferno* I-X only. Longfellow's *Inferno* was finished in the centenary year, his whole *Comedy* and Parsons' completed *Inferno* appeared in 1867. Longfellow's volumes were not merely a translation; they made readily accessible to the American public for the first time copious notes and 'Illustrations' which brought together Dante sources and criticism from various languages. Longfellow's version quickly ran through a number of editions both in America and Britain, but apart from the posthumous fragments of Parsons, only two more American translations were published before the end of the century. What may be called the 'New England tradition' of Dante translation, as established by Longfellow and Norton, had a succession of followers in the first two decades of the new century, but it was not till the revival of terza rima around 1920 that the flow of American versions began to equal the British.

The change of attitude towards the study and translation of Dante which occurred at this time was due to a variety of factors. A world revolution in poetic outlook and technique had been in progress for close on fifty years, but it was the war of 1914-18, which finally swept away the comfortable creeds of preceding generations, that provided the opportunity for the new ideas to capture public imagination. There had, moreover, been a swing of the pendulum away from the minutiae of Dante study. It had begun in Italy: Torracca's commentary first appeared in 1905; it

was followed by others with a similar accent, notably in recent years those of Momigliano, Castellino and Rivalta. Croce's La Poesia di Dante was published in 1921, and an English edition came out in the following year. Ezra Pound had long been raising a lone voice, but T. S. Eliot's essay on Dante (1920) reached a wider public. During the 1920s a new band of Dante translators was at work, and in the following decade the results became fully evident. Just what that difference was we shall consider ⁱⁿ more detail later.

The vast accumulation of Dante translations and studies did not escape the cataloguing enthusiasm of the later nineteenth century. As early as 1849 John Aitken Carlyle included a section on 'Comments and Translations' in the introduction to his own version. In 1877 Charles Tomlinson printed an essay of 37 pages on 'Dante and his Translators' at the beginning of his *Inferno*, but his main object was merely to demonstrate the inferiority of his predecessors. A much more comprehensive effort was that of Dean Plumptre who appended to the second volume of his *Dante* in 1887 almost a hundred pages of 'Estimates, Contemporary and Later', in which he surveyed the course of Dante study, criticism and translation in Italy, Britain, France, Germany and America, although good taste prevented him from attempting any appraisal of his English fellow-translators. Numerous surveys of the progress of translation have appeared in periodicals, and a chapter on the subject is included in R. W. King's biography of Cary, The Translator of Dante (1925), but his enumeration is far from complete, contains several factual errors, and is mainly directed to establishing the superiority of Cary. So far as English is concerned, the most notable of all the bibliographers was Paget Jackson Toynbee (1855-1932), who divided his attention between Dante and Horace Walpole. During his later years his residence at Fiveways became an almost fabulous treasure-house of Dante literature. His

gifts to the Bodleian Library from 1912 onwards were magnificent, and to him is largely due the completeness of our information concerning English translations of Dante, for he collected every book, periodical or manuscript that he could lay hands on, besides recording with meticulous care almost every chance allusion to Dante printed in the English tongue. He was for the most part content with cataloguing and indexing; indeed his excursions into criticism were almost as unfortunate as they were infrequent. Of his three main compilations, two are completely devoid of any critical remarks whatever, and the third is very sparing of them. These three books are briefly described below.

Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary (c.1380-1844)

(2 vols., London, 1909) is a monumental catalogue not only of every book dealing with Dante in English, but every reference, allusion, or resemblance in essays, novels, poems, plays, letters, etc. Although it contains extracts from many translations and from critical reviews, the author makes few personal expressions of opinion. In any case the book ends in 1844, before the main stream of translation had begun. There are short biographical notes on the principal writers mentioned.

Britain's Tribute to Dante in Literature and Art, a Chronological

Record of 540 years (c.1380-1920) (London, 1921). This catalogue bare details only of each item; a list of press reviews is appended to some of the translations, but this feature is not by any means complete.

Dante Studies (London, 1921). This includes an exhaustive list of all English (including American) translations of any part of Dante's work (even single lines) from Chaucer down to the present day. No biographical or critical notes are included, but the full name and dates of birth and death of each translator are given where known; the list is fully cross-referenced, and there are useful notes regarding unpublished versions.

Although one or two slight errors or discrepancies in these bibliographies will be pointed out later, their completeness is amazing, and immense industry went to their making. Up to 1921, apart from some checking, the bibliographer of Dante translations can follow Toynbee with complete safety.

The existence of Toynbee's volumes makes it unnecessary to refer to other bibliographies prior to 1921 so far as English translation is concerned; indeed collation with the British Museum Catalogue or Theodore Wesley Koch's celebrated Catalogue of the Dante Collection in Cornell University Library reveals no new items, but brings to light quite a few omissions in both the latter. For the period subsequent to 1921 the Italian bibliographies provide the most complete guidance, with the proviso that their entries must be checked owing to the frequency of misprints in reproducing English names. Particularly valuable are N. D. Evola's Bibliografia dantesca (Florence, 1932) covering the years 1920-30 and Aldo Vallone's Gli Studi danteschi dal 1940 al 1949 (Florence, 1950); the former contains 3753 items and the latter 1152 in classified lists and both have a complete index. The period 1930-39 is rather less completely and accurately documented in H. Wieruszowski's Bibliografia dantesca which is reprinted from the Giornale dantesco (Vol. XXXIX, pp. 341-410, dealing with 1930-37; Vol. XLI, pp. 221-50, dealing with 1938-9), but this has no index. All these include references to press reviews for the more important items, and Vallone's also contains a few short critical remarks. Two other Italian publications are much less valuable than their titles promise. Bartolo Bottazzi's I Traduttori di Dante (Reggio-Emilia, 1922) is wildly inaccurate; in the English section more than half the translators are missing, hardly a name is correctly spelt, dates and descriptions of versions are often wrong. The only translator singled out for praise is 'O'Donnell Moine'; no one, except Griffith, subsequent to Heury (sic) Longfellow is even mentioned; and the last sentence reads astonishingly: 'anche Lord Bayran, Vitte e Lorp Seymour danno parziali traduzioni della Commedia'. Giuliano Mambelli's Le Traduzioni della Divine Commedia (Florence, 1926)

is another reprint from the Giornale dantesco (Vol. XXVIII, pp. 97-146, 193-222; pp. 223-4 and 289-300 list translations of the minor poems, and pp. 301-11 contain an alphabetical index of translators); 801 versions (many fragmentary) of the Divine Comedy are given in languages ranging from Sanskrit to Volapük. The English section begins with the Earl of Carlisle's rendering of the Ugolino episode in 1773 (followed by a footnote mentioning some earlier attempts), and contains 260 entries including many reprints, the latest new translation being Anderson's in 1921. Fairly plentiful press references follow most items, and occasionally there is a critical remark. There are a deplorable number of misprints and numerous errors in description, considerably reducing the value of a work in which accuracy is the first essential. Marco Besso's La Fortuna di Dante fuori d'Italia (Florence, 1912) contains specimens of translation from various languages and a few critical remarks.

Two valuable books from the critical point of view have recently come from America. Dr Angelina La Piana's Dante's American Pilgrimage (New Haven, 1948) contains an historical survey of Dante Studies in the United States from 1800-1944. Information is given regarding all the American translations during the period, usually with brief biographical note, one or more extracts, references to press reviews, and some comment by the author; there are also comparisons with British translations. Professor Werner P. Friederich's Dante's Fame Abroad, 1350-1850 (Rome, 1950) is, despite its place of publication and the somewhat 'foreign look' of its typography, the work of an American scholar, dealing very fully with Dante studies, influence and translations in Spain, France, England (= Britain), Germany, Switzerland and the U.S.A. It is excellently done, but critical remarks regarding translations are few, and in any case the terminal date 1850 excludes all but the earliest versions.

The final results of the bibliographical investigation are tabulated in Appendix V to facilitate reference. Attention has been concentrated on sustained attempts at the translation of the Divine Comedy or its parts, and isolated passages which have attracted the attention of more or less gifted versifiers are not included. Table 1 lists all printed translations extending to or beyond one complete cantica, in chronological order of first publication or printing. There is one exceptional case: Samuel Home's Purgatorio is incomplete, lacking the last two cantos, but in view of its extent it has been included. There are 76 translators on this list, and to each of these a separate article is devoted in the body of the work, following the same order.

Table 2 deals with four groups of minor importance, to each of which an article is devoted, following the series mentioned above. The first group consists of extensive translations known or believed to have existed but now lost. The second contains translations existing in manuscript but now unlikely to be printed. The third consists of incomplete translations, all, as it happens, consisting of the early cantos of Inferno; in most cases an intention to continue is recorded, but was not persevered in. The fourth group, headed 'Selections and Extracts', is a rather arbitrary one, containing such fragmentary translations as seem to ^{deserve} ~~merit~~ inclusion by reason of extent, merit, influence or other special interest.

Table 3 gives a chronological view of the activity of Dante translators throughout the period from 1782 to 1954. It is divided into five columns, representing broad divisions of form, viz. terza rima, blank terzine (i.e. unrhymed verse preserving, or approximately so, the ternary structure), blank verse (i.e. the normal English form written without regard to the ternary structure), experimental (see below) and prose.

Vertically the page is divided into decades on a uniform scale. The surname of each translator is placed in the appropriate column and decade, and followed by a figure (1), (2) or (3) to denote the number of cantiche translated. Where a considerable interval occurs between successive cantiche by the same translator, a separate entry is given for each, e.g. for Dayman's *Inferno* in 1843 and for his *Divine Comedy* in 1865, or for Shadwell's volumes of *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. Only the translators of Table 1 are listed here, and no account is taken of revised or subsequent editions. This table presents a picture of the fashions in Dante translation, and the relative popularity of different forms at different times.

Of the translations classed as experimental, some might have been included in other categories, e.g. Auchmuty's octosyllables have the full triple rhyme, as also have Cumming's hendecasyllables; while several consistently hendecasyllabic unrhymed versions could be described as blank *terzine*. It has been felt that, as distinct departures from normal practice, such forms are definitely experimental, but at the end of the table an analysis is given showing the number belonging to each class.

Table 4 presents another chronological view, where the names of the translators are not given, but the numbers of the versions published in each quarter-century are shown, distinguishing between the various cantiche and between British and American translators. The total number of cantiche translated is shown in the last column, giving a measure of productivity. Again only the 76 translators of Table 1 are included. It can be seen that one feature is a marked decline in British versions during the past twenty-five years in contrast to a steady increase in American ones ever since the first was published. While it is known that further cantiche by living British translators exist in manuscript and may yet be

published, in all probability an equal or greater number of contemporary American translators are at work.

At this stage we may say something of the commercial side of Dante translation. When Landor wrote:

Gary, I fear the fruits are scanty
Thou gatherest from the fields of Dante,

he summed up the position for most subsequent translators. Of the 76 in Table 1, 22 are known to have had their versions produced entirely or mainly at their own expense, and probably many others contributed towards the initial cost. In 53 of the 76 cases the first edition was also the last; although it is possible that some of the more recent will yet reach further editions. Second editions followed of the translations by Wilkie, Haselfoot, Butler (Purgatorio and Paradiso only), Sullivan, Musgrave, Henry Johnson, Binyon and Sinclair. None of these, however, are evidence of commercial success. Wilkie's second volume was an eccentric revision at his own expense; Sullivan's a 'cheaper edition' from the same plates with paper covers; Musgrave's a posthumous printing for special reasons; Johnson's a further 1,000 copies when the original 750 ran out. Except for Binyon's and Sinclair's all these versions are completely dead. We know from Binyon's correspondence that the sales of the first edition were disappointing, and it was a pleasant surprise when a reprint was announced. Sinclair's is the most promising of this list; its excellence as a literal prose version, combined with the Italian text and a valuable commentary, is likely to ensure it a steady, if sober, sale for some time to come.

Ichabod Charles Wright had three editions published during his lifetime, the last being in Bohn's Library, and his version certainly had some contemporary success; it soon fell out of favour, however, and was superseded by newer translations. Thomas's Comedy has likewise, but most

undeservedly, had three editions, the last two in popular form during the present century; but it owes this distinction mainly to the translator's name and occupation which commended it in Methodist circles. Dugdale's *Purgatorio* was first published in Bohn's Library and once or twice reprinted, but it has long been withdrawn from the list. Plumptre's first bulky tomes went through a second edition, and later a pocket edition was published. Vernon's Readings reached a third edition of *Purgatorio* and a second of the other two parts, but with the passage of time are now out of fashion. Norton's volumes had two editions in America and two in Britain, but have not been reprinted for fifty years. Of contemporary American versions Fletcher's reached a fourth edition in 1951, and Bergin's, in the Crofts Classics series (a paper-covered book at a very low price), has probably sold in fair quantities.

We are now left with seven translators whose fortune has been in contrast to that of the others. First we have Cary, who nearly ruined himself to meet the cost of the original editions, but lived to see his venture justified. During the century since his death there have been some thirty editions in this and other countries, and his Vision is included in some standard series; but although it is established as an English classic, and likely to remain in esteem, its popularity has long been on the wane. Longfellow's translation has likewise gone through some twenty-odd editions in various countries, and being of some value as a literal aid is still useful; but it too is being ousted by newer versions.

Perhaps the most remarkable success of all is that of Carlyle's prose *Inferno* which made slow headway at first, reaching only a second edition in the author's lifetime, but was included in Bohn's Library shortly after his death. Its selection for the Temple Classics edition by Oelsner in 1900 gave it a new lease of life, and there have since been 20 editions

in that form. The other two volumes in the same series, Okey's Purgatorio and Wicksteed's Paradiso have been almost equally popular, for there have been 17 editions of the former and 18 of the latter. These three translations were also selected by Grandgent for the Illustrated Modern Library edition of the Comedy (New York, 1932; reprinted 1944). The combination of these three versions owes its popularity to several factors: its convenience^t and inexpensive format, the accompanying Italian text, the usefulness of the literal English for the student, the excellent arguments and notes and, though now to a diminishing extent, the prestige of the editors and translators.

Another successful translation is the American version of Melville Best Anderson. Besides going through several American editions, it was adopted, eleven years after its first publication, for the World's Classics series edition of the Divine Comedy, also in handy pocket form with the Italian text opposite. While this has given it a certain popularity, the less literal terza rima is not so useful as prose to those who are studying the Italian.

Last of all comes an embarrassing subject: Miss Sayers' Inferno in the Penguin Classics, to be followed in due course by the Purgatorio and Paradiso. This is an excellently conceived series, which owes its low price to a policy of large editions and highly organised publicity and distribution. Miss Sayers' Inferno was reprinted within a few months of its first appearance and three times since, and probably already more copies of it have been sold thanⁿ of all previous Dante translations added together. For some of the translations in this series we are genuinely grateful, but we regret that we cannot commend the choice of the editors in this instance, nor do we feel that Miss Sayers' version is

likely to help the understanding or appreciation of Dante among English-speaking readers. The matter is dealt with at length in the appropriate article.

This brings us to the survey of the individual translations. As has been mentioned, a separate article is given to each of the 76 names in Table 1, followed by four essays on the contents of Table 2. The following pages explain the principles on which the examination of the translations was carried out and the arrangement of matter in each article.

Bibliography. At the head of each essay is placed a description of the first edition of the translation, and also of any subsequent editions differing sufficiently in contents or format to deserve recording. The title, translator's name and publisher's imprint are given in each case as they appear on the title page of the book. This is followed by a summary of the contents, indicating the extent of explanatory matter, notes, indexes, etc. Brief details of reprints or later editions are given where applicable. All the editions recorded have been inspected, and there are only two cases where information is incomplete: I have not thought it worth while to describe any of Miss Potter's volumes except the final collection of 1904, and I have not been able to inspect the first edition of Louis How's *Inferno* (New York, 1920). Some of the translations are very scarce, and where special difficulty exists it has been mentioned. Where several editions exist, extracts are taken, except as otherwise stated, from the translator's own latest revision. Where a version of the Italian text accompanies the translation, Italian quotations are taken from that; in other cases, except where specific variants are mentioned, the Italian is quoted from Vandelli's latest recension of the Testo Critico (Milan, 1949).

Biography. An effort has been made to supply brief biographical information regarding the translators, and this is placed at the beginning of each article. In the case of well-known figures like Cary and Longfellow, where full biographies exist, it has only been thought necessary to give such details as seem to have definite relevance. Many of the translators, however, are either little known or quite unknown, and the opportunity has been taken to record what can be found out about them, and in particular to say something of their other literary work if any. Even after several years of inquiry and research there are still ten translators of whom practically nothing is known, but investigation is proceeding and it is hoped that some of them may ultimately be identified.

Test Passages. Since the 158 cantiche to be inspected contained the equivalent of some 750,000 lines of verse, some system of comparison was essential. Many of the books could only be borrowed for limited periods, and they obviously could not all be available together; nor, even if they had, could one readily lay out 76 translations open at the same passage and compare them. It was therefore decided at the outset that certain test passages should be copied from every translation, each set being collated in a loose-leaf binder, so that the different versions could be easily compared. Each of these passages was read carefully through, and a 'mark' out of a possible 10 allotted to each terzina. In marking, all factors were kept in mind as far as possible - accuracy, literary quality, preservation of the features of the original, etc. In order to keep the standard uniform as far as possible, from time to time an independent re-check was made of several passages, and if the variation exceeded five per cent further passages by the same writer were examined again. At the best this cannot be more than a rough check, but it was found very valuable for reference, and

the preliminary assessment thus arrived at was in the main substantiated by other methods of appraisal. It has seemed desirable to provide, in addition to the short citations in the articles, at least a few standard passages to enable the reader to make a comparison between the various translators' handling of the same material, and for this purpose four short extracts from each of the 76 translators, and from some of the fragmentary versions also, are, so far as applicable and available, reproduced in Appendix I where, for ease of reference, they are given in alphabetical order. The passages are: Inferno XXVI.91-142 (narrative of Ulysses), Purgatorio II.1-51 (arrival of spirits in Purgatory), Paradiso III.70-87 (Piccarda's second speech) and Paradiso XXXIII.1-21 (first part of Saint Bernard's prayer to the Virgin). In some cases where none of these passages are available, another (often the Francesca episode) is given. In Appendix II a further selection of parallel passages is given to illustrate the articles on Longfellow, his New England successors, and some later writers. The same passages have been used, where possible, to illustrate the continental versions briefly dealt with in Appendix III.

Random Sample. When the translations had been to some extent classified, in order to make a closer comparison of the better terza rima versions, a random sample of 106 terzine (one from each canto in the poem) was selected in the most arbitrary manner possible. These terzine were then marked on the same basis as the test passages, and the result was found to corroborate the general impression formed. Reference to the random sample will be found in several of the later articles.

General Reading. It was early decided that justice could not be done to the 76 translators without reading their work in its entirety. Only thus can a really fair verdict be arrived at and a reliable statement

made regarding accuracy and style. So far as possible this reading has been done in chronological order, but borrowed books, some sent from overseas, had to be read when available. There are three exceptions, where a complete reading has not been carried out. One is the literal prose translation in Vernon's Readings, which is not printed continuously nor intended so to be read - I have been through it all, or nearly all, in the course of earlier studies. The other two are the rhymed paraphrase of Caroline C. Potter and the hendecasyllabic terza rima of Father Cummins. I think that if the reader will glance at the extracts from these two works in Appendix I he will instantly excuse my neglect of them.

Critical Method. Broadly speaking there are three desiderata in a translation: accuracy, which includes lucidity; good English style, which involves the avoidance of inversion and distortion, unsuitable words of all kinds, strained meanings and bad constructions, as well as reasonable attention to the fundamentals of prosody when metre is used; and poetic quality, for which one is entitled to look, even in a prose translation, as reflecting something of Dante's own quality. It is, of course, realised that even the best translator must at times make, as Mr Ezra Pound puts it, a choice of evils. It is this oft-repeated choice that gives his rendering its distinctive tone, and the nature of it will to some extent depend on the function which the translation is designed to fulfil. A prose version, printed with the Italian text, and intended to help the student, may quite justifiably neglect literary style in favour of verbal accuracy; a poetic re-handling may take liberties with the text that would be inexcusable in blank *terzine*. Criticism which has ignored this aspect has frequently been unfair, and functional features have therefore been kept very much in mind and are often referred to in the course of the articles.

Accuracy. While careful attention has been paid to the degree of fidelity and clarity with which the meaning has been rendered, the greatest caution has been used in giving examples of mistranslation, and this has only been done when it seems certain that the translator has misunderstood his text. Many apparent mistranslations, especially in the older versions, are really due to the writer having followed a variant reading or interpretation current at the time. Even if this reading has since been rejected as wrong, or even if the best contemporary judgment then regarded it as inferior, we may excuse the translator of having been indiscriminating in his choice of authorities, but not of mistranslation. The pages of literary periodicals provide scores of warnings on this subject; many reviews contain lists of alleged mistranslations, some of which only show the reviewer's own limitations. To quote only one striking example, the competent critic who wrote on 'Dante in English Terza Rima' in Blackwood's Magazine of June 1867 thought that Cayley had mistranslated Purg. XXX.15 because, he said, 'there is nothing about "hallelujahing" in the Italian'. He should have known that 'la revestita carne alleluiando' had sufficient manuscript support to make it a strong challenger to 'alleviando', even if he preferred the latter. Even such experts as Moore and Toynbee have been detected in similarly mistaken pronouncements. After investigating many renderings which at first sight seemed to be mistranslations, I have so often discovered the source of the variant in some old editor or commentary, that I am very chary of cataloguing any but the most blatant mistranslations. Unfortunately, there are so many inaccuracies of other kinds, so many misrepresentations of Dante to be pointed out, that the traditional list of mistranslations may in many cases be omitted altogether without apology.

English style. It seems reasonable to expect a translation into the

English language, whatever its origin, to be written in English. Because the work is a translation is no excuse for it being couched in a foreign idiom like the schoolboy's 'I have seen the brown cow of your grandmother'. Some concessions are allowable when the translation is frankly designed as a 'crib', but even there the need for verbal accuracy has too often led the translator into the position of having 'writ no language'. When the translation is of a poem such as the Divine Comedy it should also possess that homogeneity which is essential to a work of art. This does not mean that it will not employ variety; there is variety in plenty in the original. But many translators have made Dante's style an excuse for the deficiencies of their own, have even candidly announced that any 'strangeness' noticed is to be attributed to the Italian and not to themselves. Dante is full, they say, of archaisms, neologisms, latinisms, foreign constructions, inversions, and so forth; and by this argument they justify some of the most extraordinary abuse to which the English tongue has ever been subjected. Dante, as the intelligent reader quickly finds, uses his language; he does not abuse it.

Prosody. Metrical translations, especially in terza rima, raise the problem of reconciling reasonable scansion with both accurate sense and adequate expression. The worker in such a difficult medium must command our sympathy; his choice is all too often one of evils. That being so, we shall not grudge him reasonable licence. We shall not quarrel with his imperfect rhymes, provided he uses the freedom thus obtained to good purpose. We shall not object to his paraphrasing occasionally, if he does not at the same time commit the faults to avoid which we are willing to excuse his departure from the literal sense. We shall not count the syllables in his lines too carefully provided they go without crutches. But we are entitled to ask that he shall convince us that he has used all possible

resource, patience and industry; we cannot permit him to slouch and stagger from one desperate expedient to another till he arrives breathless and dishevelled at the end of the canto, and then forgive him when he reminds us of 'il ponderoso tema e l'omero mortal che se ne carica'. We may even be harsh enough to remind him that the burden was self-imposed, that it was he who cried 'I' mi sobbarco'. To translate in this fashion is simply to mutilate - and if not content with doing this, he has the temerity to tell us in his preface that he carried out the work ahead of his 'time-schedule' we shall treat him as we think Dante would have done.

Poetic quality. One or two translators have endeavoured to rewrite Dante as an English poem, and to use their own poetic skill to replace the features that cannot be reproduced. With these we shall deal as we come to them. The great majority of translators are content to remain such. Some are too much occupied with accommodating the sense to the chosen medium to have any regard for poetic values at all. Most, however, make some effort to reproduce Dante's more obvious effects: the sledge-hammer blows of 'Amor . . . amor . . . amor . . . ' (Inf. V), the ineffable weariness of 'O in eterno faticoso manto' (Inf. XXIII), the clarion call of 'Non sonó sí terribilmente Orlando' (Inf. XXXI). There are, in addition, a host of more subtle, less spectacular effects running all through the poem and becoming more complicated and longer sustained as it proceeds. One reason for using the beginning of Purg. II as a test passage is its importance in setting the stage for what follows, just as Purg. I has already created the atmosphere. As the Ante-Purgatorio possesses an elusive but unmistakable flavour of its own, so does each successive cornice until, beginning with canto XXVII we have some 700 lines of what many feel to be Dante's supreme achievement. The Paradiso is different again, tending to fall into

a series of episodes, but flashing more brightly than ever with 'molte gioie care e belle tanto che non si posson trar del regno'. In reading some of the older translators one feels that they must have been getting tired by the time they reached the third cantica, so inadequate are their attempts to deal with it. Yet here we find all the vigour and majesty which impressed us in the Inferno - lines like 'come per acqua cupa cosa grave', 'la morte prese subitana e atra', 'non molto lungi al percuoter dell'onde', 'parebbe nube che squarciata tona'; we find the serenity and confidence of the Purgatorio - 'E'n la sua volontade è nostra pace', 'e venni dal martiro a questa pace', 'e chi nol sa, s'elli ha la fede mia?'; and in addition we find something new, something which comes as near as anything we can imagine to 'la dolce sinfonia di paradiso'. Lines like 'da mia memoria labili e caduci' or 'luce intellettuale, piena d'amore' are the despair alike of translator and critic - they can neither be transliterated nor explained. Perhaps there is something to be said for starting with the Paradiso. Professor Bickersteth, both in his translation and in his Herford Lecture, has shown how different is the real poetic approach from that of the nineteenth century poets^{tas}. We shall therefore do our best in what follows to show to what extent the various translators have fulfilled the exacting requirements of the third quality desired of them.

Plagiarism. Resemblances between translations have frequently led to suggestions of deliberate borrowing made by critics, followed by démentis by, or even rebukes from, the translators concerned. A charge of plagiarism can only be made on very solid grounds; for instance Peabody's wholesale versification of Carlyle is too flagrant to be ascribed to coincidence. Where, however, the inheritors of a common literary tradition are translating the same original it is obvious that the number of solutions to their problem

is limited, and several of them can easily arrive independently at the same result. A glance at the various terza rima versions of the Ulysses passage (Inf. XXVI.91 ff) in Appendix I will afford ample evidence. Notice, for instance, how many of the translators have used either 'train - Spain - main' or 'band - hand - strand' (or some slight variation of these sets) for lines 101-3-5, and the even more striking recurrence of 'flight - night - sight' in lines 125-7-9. Even in so much freer a medium as blank verse the coincidences between versions are very frequent, extending often to a complete terzina; see for instance the remarks in the articles on Rossetti and Longfellow, where borrowing was quite out of the question. I have had the opportunity of asking some translators about striking likenesses in certain passages to earlier versions, and have no reason to doubt their assurance that these are entirely accidental. I can also vouch, as I am sure that any translator can, for many such instances in my own experience. The deliberate and acknowledged borrowing of lines is another matter, which will be referred to in its place. The systematic revision of Longfellow's version which characterises the New England succession of Norton, Vincent, Johnson and Langdon is dealt with at some length in the articles on these translators.

Press reviews. Where feasible a brief account has been given of the press reception of the various translations, but the verdicts found in reviews, particularly when they are anonymous, afford only a very partial reflection of public opinion. Reviewers often contradict each other violently; moreover the policy of magazines has sometimes been swayed by political or other alignments which may even vitiate literary criticism. The Athenaeum was, throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the most faithful and reliable vehicle of comment on Dante translation,

and is always quoted where applicable. Even it shows inconsistency; its incautious leniency towards John Wesley Thomas had unexpected consequences fifty years later, when its review was quoted in support of a new issue of a version that should have been left in deserved oblivion. The signed reviews in the Academy during the same period, most of them by Dante experts, command respect, and the Saturday Review also maintained a high standard of criticism. During the present century the Times Literary Supplement has been quoted in all cases where a review appeared, also the Modern Language Review in this country and Modern Language Notes in America. Unfortunately the two latter journals, in ~~one~~ which one would naturally look for a scholarly verdict, have been somewhat erratic in their attention to translations of Dante, and some of the most important have not been noticed in either. The New Statesman and its predecessor, the Nation, have also been consulted and quoted throughout the period of their currency. The views of American journals and critics are very fully set out in Dr La Piana's book, Dante's American Pilgrimage, from which I have frequently quoted with due acknowledgment.

Quotations and extracts have been reproduced verbatim, except that obvious misprints have been corrected. Where the translation is printed in terzine, the usual method of indenting the second and third lines has been adopted in all cases, irrespective of the fact that some other typographical device may have been used in the actual print. Quotation marks at speeches are not inserted unless used in the print; where they are used, errors in their position have been corrected, and the Oxford rules for their combination with other marks of punctuation have been applied. Capitalisation, at the beginning of lines and elsewhere, has been kept as the print.

CHARLES ROGERS

The Inferno of Dante Translated. London. Printed by J. Nichols; and sold by T. Payne and Son, J. Dodsley, B. White, J. Robson, P. Elmsly, C. Dilly, Leigh and Sotheby, P. Molini and T. Evans. MDCCLXXXII. Foolscap quarto, pp. iii, 136. Dedication to the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Walpole, p. iii; English text, printed continuously, pp. 1-135; errata, p. 136. There are no arguments and only one footnote.

Charles Rogers (1711-84) is best known as an art collector and connoisseur. He entered the Custom House service in 1731, remaining in it for over fifty years, becoming Clerk of the Certificates in 1747, and eventually reaching the rank of Principal Officer. Early in his career he worked under William Townson, from whom he acquired a knowledge of the fine arts; and when Townson died in 1746, Rogers inherited his house and collection, to which he devoted much of his time. In 1778 he published a monumental work in two folio volumes, A Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings, containing a series of carefully executed facsimiles of original drawings by the great masters, engraved in tint. Rogers was a friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds and of Horace Walpole, to whose brother, a colleague at the customs, the translation of Dante was dedicated. Although the volume was published anonymously, its authorship was well authenticated. Toynbee (B.E.L. I, p. 383) quotes the ascription written in a copy belonging to Dr Richard Farmer, who died in 1797. The copy examined for the purpose of this account, belonging to the City of Nottingham Library, has the words 'by Charles Rogers, Esqr.' written below the word 'Translated' on the title page; while inside the front cover is an autograph note by Ichabod Charles Wright:

Sent me anonymously after the publication of my Translation of the Inferno. (I.C.W.) - I think it sometimes better than Cary, as less broken. - A copy of this book is in the British Museum.

To Rogers, therefore, belongs the distinction of having given to the

public the first English version of an entire cantica of Dante's Comedy; although it is known that at least two translations had been made earlier (see Part III). Considering that Rogers was in the region of seventy years of age when he made this translation, and that his life and thought were mainly occupied with interests other than literary, he showed some enterprise and energy. It must be remembered that few of the aids to the comprehension of Dante with which we are so familiar to-day existed then, and a good deal of personal spade-work had to be done by the would-be translator. Unfortunately the quality of Rogers' work makes it difficult to bestow further praise. Dr Farmer, who was Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and doubtless knew something of the circumstances, says in the note referred to above that 'This translation . . . gives the Sense without the least pretention to Poetry or Elegance'. Toynbee adds: 'As a matter of fact, the translation, while entirely devoid of any spark of poetry, has not even the merit of being faithful.' This judgment is not too harsh; the extract from Rogers given in Appendix I is typical and illustrates his faults and his lack of merit. It will also suggest the reason for I. C. Wright's remark about 'sometimes better than Cary, as less broken'. Rogers' verse is almost always end-stopped and therefore probably seemed to Wright, who had himself translated in units of three lines, more like Dante than the blank verse of Cary, who pays little heed to the ternary structure.

Rogers' translation is in unrhymed iambic pentameter, to which the courtesy title of blank verse may be given; it does not follow Dante line for line, being written continuously, and condensing the 4720 lines of the original into 4470. While a good deal of this contraction is achieved by reducing Italian *terzine* to two lines in English, it is not altogether uniform. Here, for instance, are six lines of Dante compressed into three

mainly by omission (III.52-7):

A Standard then borne rapidly around
I saw, and follow'd by a longer train
Than I had thought that Death had e'er subdued.

On the other hand there is sometimes expansion, as in the following where two terzine of the original make eight lines in English (accompanied by some confusion of the sense - XXXII.28-33):

And if the lofty mountain Taberniech,
Or Pietrapana on it fallen had,
Such creeking it would never have produc'd,
As from the borders of the Ice was heard;
Like to the croaking of a Frog, when he
Stands with his muzzle 'bove the water's brim,
In summer, when the peasant's wife intends
The fields to traverse, and to glean her corn.

There are also occasional defective lines, e.g. 'Yet here I cannot silent be: to you I swear' (XVI.127) with twelve syllables, compared with eight in 'Raise up your head, raise up and see' (XX.31).

Rogers' blank verse is completely lacking in those qualities of style which are essential to poetry, and for the most part might be called indifferent prose distorted here and there so that a word ends with every tenth syllable. An occasional line suggests a tendency in favour of Latinisation, as when 'sì che pareva che l'aere ne temesse' (I.48) becomes 'Struck dread into the circumambient air'; but such lines are jostled by prosaic ones, as where Dante beseeches Virgil (I.83-4):

Regard the study and the ardent love
With which I have attended to your works,

or where the telling words, 'ad ogni conoscenza or li fa bruni' (VII.54), are watered down to 'They're consequently totally unknown'. Perhaps Rogers' most remarkable feat in this direction is his rendering of Charon's speech (III.88-9):

And you, Sir, there, who yet do live and breathe,
Get hence from these, for they are now deceas'd,

worthily followed by Virgil's remark to Dante a little later (III.128-9):

Therefore of you if Caron now complains
You must confess it's only as he thinks.

It may be noted that Rogers uses the second person plural throughout, and avoids 'thou', 'thee', even in prayers or addresses to divine persons.

By far the most striking feature of Rogers' verse is his constantly recurring split infinitives, and he certainly contrives to very thoroughly split them! Some examples will be found in Appendix I; here are a few more, typical of scores scattered throughout the poem.

'If other times to satisfaction give'
They all replied, 'it you so little costs . . . ' (XVI.78-80)

and drives again
His sheep to in their usual pasture feed (XXIV.14-15)

If possible it be
To the enormous Briareus behold (XXXI.97-8)

and me instruct
Close to the truth to what is done relate (XXXII.11)

This irritating habit is, as can be seen, combined with other awkwardnesses, particularly a fondness for quite unnecessary inversions, e.g.

For I do you absolve, that you may teach
Demolish how that I Praeneste may (XXVII.100-2)

Their mutual support they then disjoin'd;
And, trembling with dismay, both to me turn'd,
With those who what was talk'd rebounded heard (XXIX.97-9)

No trifle 'tis the centre to describe
Of the whole Universe, nor does't become
The Mammy or the Pappy of a child. (XXXII.9)

The reader who is unacquainted with the original would probably take a little time to puzzle out the meaning of these, especially the last. There are also frequent rather slovenly contractions such as:

and if our prayers,
And sad and naked Forms by you're despis'd (XVI.29-30)

You him of Becceria 've near your side (XXXII.119)

There is a curious gloss at VII.48 which reads:

to whom
Av'rice superfluous was, for they'd no heirs.

Coming after 'che non han coperchio / piloso al capo' one might almost suspect a pun, had Rogers been given to such frivolities, but it is more probably a tilt at the celibacy of the Roman clergy. Another curious line (XIX.90-2),

Tell me, I pray, how much the treasure was,
At which our Lord the keys to Peter sat?

is probably a misprint; there are a few scattered throughout the book.

Three lines (IV.118-20) are omitted altogether, probably due to an error in copying or typesetting.

There are quite a number of mistranslations, and these are mostly due to a careless or hasty reading of the Italian. Thus a bizarre rendering of II.48, 'come falso veder bestia quand'ombra',

As frequently the shadow of a beast
Appears more horrid than the form itself,

is evidently due to failure to take time to follow the construction of the sentence. Of the same kind are:

Heaven expects not you e'er more to see
(Non isperate mai veder lo cielo) (III.85)

and their vanity
Deplored, who'd seem alive when they were not
(reading 'piante' as 'pianti') (VI.35-6)

Other errors of the same type may, however, be due to bad readings in Rogers' Italian text; e.g. in XXI.25 a few MSS. have 'che tarda' for 'cui tarda' which would account for Rogers' 'one who stops awhile / To that examine from which he should fly'; and in XXXI.125 one MS. has 'puon' for 'può', although it is more likely that Rogers' 'Though they can grant what we of you request' is just a hasty misreading. In the case of such lines as XIII.101-2,

The Harpies, feeding on its tender leaves,
Put it to pain, which pain excites complaints,

it is difficult to know whether the translator misunderstood 'ed al dolor fenestra' or simply substituted a weaker equivalent. Like too many of his colleagues in translation he has hopelessly confused the simile of XXX.136-8:

As he, who of what's hurtful to him dreams,
Is still desirous to prolong his sleep,
Hoping that what he dreams may not prove true;
So did I muse . . . ;

and like them again he spoils the point of 'al fondo della ghiaccia ir mi convegna' (XXXIII.117) by rendering 'The lowest Ice will be my fittest place'. Rather odd is the mistranslation of 'martiri' at the end of canto IX, repeated at the opening of canto X:

Along a secret way, between the Wall
And Martyrs' Tombs, my Master and I went.

Perhaps the most ludicrous misunderstanding is in XXIII.40-2:

Wrapt in his shirt alone she seizes him,
His safety more regarding than her own.

The solitary footnote relates to the Ugolino episode and is indicative of Rogers' artistic interests rather than relevant. After remarking that Chaucer had related the story in the Monk's Tale, and that the Earl of Carlisle had recently made 'a very eloquent and poetical Translation of it in Rhyme', he quotes at some length from Jonathan Richardson's Two Discourses (merely mentioning, without comment, that the essay also contains a translation) regarding the Ugolino scene in sculpture; and finishes by praising the recent painting by his friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds.

HENRY BOYD

A Translation of the Inferno of Dante Alighieri in English Verse with Historical Notes, and the life of Dante to which is added, A specimen of a new translation of the Orlando Furioso of Ariosto. By Henry Boyd, A.M. London: printed by C. Dilly, 1785. Crown octavo, two volumes.

Vol. I (pp. x, 367): 'To the Rt. Hon. and Rev. Frederick, Lord Bishop of Derry, and Earl of Bristol', pp. v-vi; list of subscribers' names (headed by the Bishop of Derry and the Earl of Charlemont who took ten sets each; Lord Digby and the Bishop of Kildare took four sets each; there are 173 subscribers in all), pp. vii-ix; Summary View of the Inferno (reprinted from Warton's History of English Poetry), pp. 1-24; A Comparative View of the Inferno, pp. 25-73; Historical Essay on the State of Affairs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, etc., pp. 75-149; Life of Dante (from Leonardo Bruni), pp. 151-73; Introduction, pp. 175-6; translation in six-line stanzas of Purg. XXX. 115-41, followed by brief comments headed 'An Account of the Lapse and Conversion of Dante', pp. 179-83; English text of Inferno cantos I-XII in six-line stanzas (each canto having a half-title with argument, and there are numerous footnotes), pp. 185-367.

Vol. II (pp. 454): English text of Inferno cantos XIII-XXXIV (printed as in Vol. I), pp. 1-367; unheaded article giving comparison of Scott's Christian Life, First Part, Chap. III, with Dante's view of futurity, pp. 369-74; Summary View of the Platonic Doctrine, with Respect to a Future State (from Scott as above), pp. 375-400; Specimen of a new Translation of the Orlando Furioso of Ariosto (cantos XXIV to XXIX, with some omissions, in Spenserian stanzas), pp. 401-52; Postscript to foregoing, pp. 453-4.

The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri consisting of the Inferno - Purgatorio - and Paradiso. Translated into English Verse, with preliminary essays, notes, and illustrations, by the Rev. Henry Boyd, A.M., Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Charleville. In three volumes. London: Printed by A. Strahan, New-Street Square; For T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, in the Strand. 1802. Crown octavo.

Vol. I (pp. vi, 408): dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Charles William, Lord Viscount Charleville; the 'Comparative View', the 'Historical Essay' and the 'Life of Dante', substantially as in the 1785 volumes, occupy pp. 1-88; Introduction, pp. 89-90; English text of Inferno, with arguments and footnotes, pp. 93-388; 'Summary View' as in 1785 volume, pp. 391-408.

Vol. II (pp. 384): Preliminary Essay on the Purgatorio of Dante, pp. 3-55 (this essay is stated to be 'an Abridgment of a larger Discourse, which the Translator intends, at some future time, to publish in a separate form'); English text of Purgatorio (printed as in Vol. I), pp. 57-378; unheaded Note (interpretation of 'bathing in Lethe'), pp. 379-84.

Vol. III (pp. 420): Preliminary Essay on the Paradiso, pp. 3-19; Extract from the Symposium of Plato, pp. 21-8; English text of Paradiso (printed as in Vol. I), pp. 31-371; G. Fletcher's 'Christ's Triumph over Death', consisting of 21 eight-line stanzas, pp. 373-80; Additional Note on canto VII, pp. 381-8; on cantos XI and XII, pp. 389-93; on canto XX, pp. 394-9; Address to the Shade of Dante, pp. 401-8; Index of the most remarkable characters, etc., exhibited in the poem, pp. 409-16; Errata and Addenda, pp. 417-20.

Note: The text of the Inferno in the 1802 edition is the same as that in the 1785 edition except for a few corrections and slight revisions.

Henry Boyd (died 1832) left few traces, in spite of an active life in the literary sense at least, from which biographers can reconstruct his history. He was a native of Ireland, and probably was educated at the University of Dublin; he was ordained to the Anglican ministry and held various livings in Ireland, although just when and how is not very clear. He is described on the title pages of some of his books as Vicar of Drumgath; while in his obituary notice the Gentleman's Magazine describes him as Vicar of Rathfriland and chaplain to the Earl of Charleville. We get some tantalising glimpses of him in Nichols' Illustrations, mainly in the Anderson-Percy correspondence, where he is spoken of as a poet and apparently well known to the writers; but his translation of Dante is not mentioned there. Nor is the degree of Boyd's intimacy with Bishop Percy very clear; Boyd wrote eulogistic poems both on Mrs Percy and her husband for the Gentleman's Magazine on the occasion of their deaths (the former 1807, i, p. 155; the latter 1811, ii, p. 556), and in the footnotes appended to the latter he emphasises his connexion with the Bishop, mentioning in particular the fact that when he was in danger during the Rebellion of 1708 the late Bishop bestowed on him the vicarage of Rathfriland in a more secure part of the country, also that during the troubles he spent the winter of 1798 and the spring of 1799 in the Bishop's house at Dromore. This, however, it must be remembered is simply Boyd's own account; relying on patronage both for

ecclesiastical preferment and the publication of his poems he probably made the most of such connexions. The 1811 poem contains posthumous compliments which no doubt echo earlier ones; a phrase like 'as well became / A Percy's dauntless heart' indicates that Boyd was willing to exploit the Bishop's known weakness. As early as 1791 Joseph Cooper Walker (on whose death in 1810 Boyd produced a memorial poem of 24 stanzas) wrote to Percy (according to Nichols):

At length Mr Berwick and I have prevailed on the ingenious and unfortunate Mr Boyd to publish his original poems by subscription. I am sure that I need not recommend him to your Lordship's protection. Inclosed you have a few copies of his proposals.

Percy duly acknowledged the letter and promised that he would 'not be inattentive'. The volume referred to was probably Poems chiefly dramatic and lyric, which appeared in 1793, and is the first recorded work of Boyd after his *Inferno*. Between 1803 and 1807 Nichols prints several letters from Dr Robert Anderson of Edinburgh to Bishop Percy containing references to Boyd's projects. In 1803 he says that Boyd 'has finished the "Araccara" (sic), and wants a publisher'; in 1805 he writes that Boyd 'has not yet been able to find a purchaser of his Translation of the Araucana', and also refers to the latter's difficulties with his publishers through his wish to transfer the printing of two volumes of his poems, already announced for publication in Edinburgh, to London; later in the same year he records that after an 'unpleasant correspondence with our friend Mr Boyd' he has managed to get 'the matter, at length, settled entirely to his satisfaction' but fears that 'He is offended, as I have not heard from him for some time'. In 1806 he refers to Boyd's 'squibs against Moore' as 'coarse and indelicate' and finally in 1807 he speaks of Boyd's verses on the death of Mrs Percy. Boyd's version of Ercilla's epic seems to have remained unpublished; but in 1805 two of his books did appear, a translation of Vincenzo Monti's Penance of

Hugo and The Woodman's Tale, described as a poem after the manner and metre of Spenser. In 1807 he published a translation of Petrarch's Triumphs and in 1809 a three-volume edition of Milton's Works containing a number of original essays. From the correspondence reproduced in Nichols' Illustrations Boyd seems to have had some acquaintance with Thomas James Mathias, then librarian at Buckingham Palace, and well known as an admirer, editor and imitator of Italian poetry. Boyd was a contributor of occasional verse to the Gentleman's Magazine, which recorded his death at Ballintemple, County Down, in September 1852, mentioning that he died 'at an advanced age'. We may therefore reasonably suppose him to have been born early in the second half of the eighteenth century, and therefore not much over thirty when he published his Inferno.

Boyd lost by a brief three years the distinction of being the first English translator of the Inferno; but he was certainly the first of the complete Comedy, at least so far as published or extant versions are concerned, being well ahead of Cary whose Inferno appeared in 1805, while the whole Vision was not published until 1814. Boyd's translation is in pentameters, formed into six-line stanzas, rhyming a a b c c b. He may have had some vague notion of making each stanza correspond to two terzine of the original, but if so, as will be seen from the account given below, he abandoned it, so to speak, before he began.

Boyd's Divine Comedy is a literary curiosity of considerable interest, but it may be said right away that as a translation of Dante it is completely valueless. Boyd was too firmly rooted in the poetic tradition of his own age to capture anything of the manner or atmosphere of the original; all he could do was to take Dante's matter, with a considerable admixture of his own, and turn it into the stiff and pompous verse which

the men of his time who looked backward for their inspiration imagined to be a continuation of the achievements of Pope, Johnson and Goldsmith. He remained completely untouched by the forward-looking influences of the period; his verse is totally devoid of all symptoms of the romantic revival. Indeed, to quote the first stanza of his poem on the death of Bishop Percy might well suffice to pinpoint Boyd's literary position:

O grief on grief! my sighs upon the gale
Were wafted long, and long my heart has bled!
How drear yon death-sound rolls along the vale,
And sternly sings a noble spirit fled!

In this style he maintains a consistently respectable level, with here and there a good line or a striking rhetorical phrase, and, though less frequently, a sad lapse. The result when this system is applied to Dante may well be illustrated from Cacciaguida's words in Par. XVII.55-63, where the obvious echo from Johnson may well have been amplified from Boyd's own experience:

You then must bid adieu to all delight,
That is the first keen shaft that wings its flight
From dire affliction's bow, then soon thy taste
Shall learn the flavour of the niggard dole,
Thy tears shall mix with the penurious bowl,
On thy lean board by haughty Patrons plac'd.

Then shall you know what steps of anxious care,
The houseless Man that mounts a stranger's stair
Must count, but still more deadly stings remain,
The thankless hearts of those with whom you fled,
Dastards, by you in vain to glory led,
Shall censure thee as cause of all their pain.

From the extensive essays appended to his translation, from his notes, and from his other literary work, it is clear that Boyd, however deficient as a poet in his own right, was a man of vigorous intellect, deeply and widely read, and possessed of enterprise and industry. To the thorough classical training which was given in his day, he joined a knowledge of the languages and literatures of France, Spain and Italy, as well as an

acquaintance with ancient and contemporary philosophy and ethics. On purely literary aspects of the Divine Comedy he has remarks of genuine interest; his analysis of Greek and Roman epic poetry, and his comparison between that and the work of Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and others contains many sound and shrewd judgments. In the end he concedes that Dante is 'a Bard of secondary magnitude', regrets that 'his language . . . is sometimes debased by vulgar idioms'; and he has an interesting note on the quarrel between Adam and Sinon in Inf. XXX:

Selection of language was not yet known; Dante, as he describes every thing, often makes use of the words that first offer; this gives his style sometimes a flat, prosaic aspect, but its general characteristic is venerable simplicity, and his sublimity depends on the thought alone.

This is a disappointing conclusion, because an earlier note on the description of Griffolino and Capocchio in Inf. XXIX indicates a truer perception:

The translator has abridged this odious description as much as was compatible with any degree of clearness. The early poets of the middle age described every thing, however disgusting, with great minuteness. Spenser has this fault, among his various excellencies. This sometimes creates aversion, but often shews an intimate knowledge of the subject whatever it be. This particularity may indeed be carried too far; but Poets sometimes by avoiding it, run into more general terms, and lose those beautiful specific marks of things, the selection of which in description is one criterion of true genius. To give examples of this, every rhymers can talk of listening waves, but Cowley gives the specific mark, with him 'they listen towards the shore'. Every pastoral poet in the sound of Bowbell can sing of the verdure of the spring, but Gray's April clothes the fields in tender green, such as one only sees for a fortnight in the beginning of that season.

It is a pity that Boyd failed to realise that Dante provided perhaps the most amazing example of that very 'particularity' that world literature affords. One reason for this is that he was so wedded to the Augustan's system of expression that he could not conceive of poetry being 'exalted' except by their methods; and a second is his preoccupation with the idea that Dante's 'sublimity depends on the thought alone'. He makes it clear that Dante's chief attraction for him lies in his moral system; and, par-

ticularly in his long Preliminary Essay on the Purgatorio he shows an awareness of the genuine breadth of Dante's eschatology which places him, in this respect, far ahead of such later critics as Hunt or Landor, and makes us feel that he might have done better, instead of translating the poem, to have written the 'larger Discourse' foreshadowed in the heading of the said essay. Consequently, he continually errs either in an endeavour to 'write up' Dante to meet the contemporary demand for elegance, or in padding him out with glosses to make clear the truth 'hid in the mazes of the mystic strain' (as he renders Inf. IX.63). Indeed he avows the former intention in a note appended to the argument of Inf. IV:

The Translator has taken the liberty of adding some characteristic Imagery to the 'Muster-roll of Names', which constitutes a great part of this Canto in the original.

He does so to some tune, using 29 lines more than Dante, and expanding, as Toynbee has pointed out (D.E.L. I, p. 411), the mere mention of Cicero and Seneca to a whole stanza. On the other hand, he is so eager to emphasise the fate of Ulysses as a moral judgment that, although he uses only 48 lines to Dante's 52, he introduces some innovations of his own in support of his note: 'The Poet here seems to have considered Ulysses in his latter expeditions as a Pirate'. This passage is reproduced in Appendix I, and is a good example of the extreme liberty which Boyd allows himself.

It would serve little purpose to quote extensively from Boyd's translation. Suffice it to say that he commits almost every fault of which a translator can be guilty: he frequently obscures or distorts the sense, and he almost invariably destroys in the process the characteristic features of Dante's style. He is diffuse where he should be succinct, ornate where he should be severe, fanciful where he should be realistic. Here, for instance, is Purg. III.79-84:

As Tenants of the fold in groupes advance,
And some strange form peruse with timid glance,
Each with uplifted head, and startled eye;
Thro' each the sympathy of wild amaze
Contagious runs, till all, attentive, gaze
On the new prodigy, they know not why.

Similarly in Purg. XII.67 the telling line, 'Morti li morti e i vivi parean vivi', becomes:

Instinct, with sacred fire, the living caught
Life's holy flame, and energy of thought,
And Fate's Gorgonian rigour froze the Dead.

Boyd is very fond of epithets like the one in the last line, particularly of 'Cimmerian' which occurs again and again.

Boyd's prevailing tendency is towards expansion, although it is not consistent. His Inferno runs to 4962 lines against Dante's 4720; but the habit grows on him: Purgatorio makes 5562 against 4755 and Paradiso 5742 against 4758. Even within the latter there are wide differences in treatment: while Boyd expands the 154 lines of canto XXII to 222 of his own, he puts exactly the same number of Italian lines in canto XXIV into 144 of English. As a specimen, here is a single *terzina* (Par. I.34-6) lengthened out to over nine lines:

The Wood that waves upon the Mountain's Brow
A spark may fire; my smother'd embers glow
With languid heat; and yet may wake a flame,
Whose waving Spires may Earth and Heaven adorn,
And fervours new bestow on Tribes unborn,
Lesson'd to Glory by my humbler Name.

My rustic pipe may wake a nobler sound,
Than Echo e'er returned from Cyrrha's bound;
If such a theme as mine their breasts inspire,
Clio, begin!

But, perversely enough, Boyd not infrequently goes wrong through compression. The 14 lines of Inf. XXIII.38-51 are reduced to 6, thus:

The Matron thus the flaming roof forsakes,
And, half array'd, her helpless infant takes,
The lov'd, the sole companion of her woe;

Nor speeds the torrent o'er the channel'd mound,
Nor swifter turns th' indented wheel around,
Than Maro sought the mournful plains below.

Manfred's speech in Purg. III also suffers badly by curtailment; lines 121-35 are cut down from 15 to 9½:

Tho' deep in crimes, that all-embracing arm,
That saves the weeping penitent from harm,
If e'er, renew'd by grace, he turns to God,
Sav'd me: if proud Cosenza's lord had own'd
That truth, he had not cast, from hallow'd ground,
My bones, to blanch by Verde's fatal flood.

Nor thus suffic'd the malice of the Priest,
He curs'd me, but eternal love redress'd
The ransom'd soul; that hope but rarely dies
While the pulse plays . . .

It is difficult to form an estimate of Boyd's knowledge of Italian.

He departs so regularly from the text that it is often impossible to know whether he mistranslates through ignorance or by design. One problem passage is Inf. XXXIV.53-60:

Disguis'd in gore, the gloomy Chieftain stood,
From ev'ry mouth distill'd the streaming blood,
And lamentations loud and piercing cries
Were heard within. - His triple jaws divide,
And shew his deadly fangs on either side,
And each a sinner's blood in crimson dyes.

We saw the pris'ners force their bloody way,
We saw his marble jaws with deadly sway,
At once descend and crush them in their flight.
Half seen again, the wretch for mercy calls,
High-pois'd again, the ponderous engine falls,
And churns their quiv'ring limbs with stern delight.

Equally unrecognisable is Guido Guinizelli's speech in Purg. XXVI; but here Boyd evidently wanted to avoid translation altogether because he considered the subject indelicate. Lines 73-90 are represented by the following:

O happy Man! allow'd our state to view,
And shun the crimes that led the sentenc'd Crew
To various dungeons, fraught with various pain:
These meeting Squadrons, on each other fling
The dire reproach; and, with alternate sting,
In keen Iambics chant th' opprobrious strain.

Our brutal bias, and portentous shame,
As if, in mockery, the surrounding flame
Paints on each hideous face, in crimson glow;
But, from what pedigrees and climes we come,
Our various fortunes, and what caus'd our doom,
Stern vengeance suffers not at large to show.

Paradiso XXII. 91-6 is rendered strangely also:

But mark the limpid current where it flows,
And see how foul the muddy channel grows,
When black pollutions, from a thousand hills,
And sleeping Stygian pools, infest its wave.
Jordan! return to your paternal Cave;
Your parent Cave with pois'nous dew distils.

But he that smote the deep, and bade it roll
In terror from its bed, can strike the Soul;
I see the lifted rod . . .

Many other passages are chaotic; a striking example of this will be found in Inferno XXI and XXII where Boyd makes sweeping alterations to the incidents in the bolgia of the barrators and, as might be expected, loses almost entirely the grim pleasantries of the original, omitting some lines altogether, and adding original matter. Extraordinary too is Dante's interview with Belacqua in Purg. IV. The latter's first remark in lines 98-9 is:

'Yet here you may repose,' a Voice before
Reply'd, soft whisp'ring thro' the stilly air.

But lines 106-8 are far from suggesting 'soft whispers':

He had not power to lift his lumpish head,
But upward look'd askance, with eye of lead,
And view'd me with a dull, malignant glare.

The incident of Farinata in Inf. X is another which is completely spoiled, and the conversation with Cavalcante is so confused that it is impossible to tell who is addressing whom.

Boyd borrows phrases and lines from other poets freely: Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Goldsmith and Gray are all laid under contribution, and there are probably others unidentified. Occasionally these borrowings are in quotation marks, once or twice their source is

indicated in footnotes (apparently from memory, since at least twice the attribution is wrong), but more often they are unmarked. Some occur more than once. A particular favourite is 'tenement of clay' which is used repeatedly; its first occurrence in Inf. III.61-3 leaves no doubt as to its unacknowledged origin:

Nearer I gazed, and knew the abject train,
Who, Heav'n's aversion, and their foes' disdain,
But half inform'd their tenements of clay.

The standard of accuracy achieved by the printers, both of the 1785 and 1805 volumes, is very poor, but probably largely due to Boyd's own laxness in proof-reading. Quotation marks in particular are omitted or misplaced in a confusing manner, two speeches being run into one; other marks of punctuation are obviously wrong; and there are numerous misspellings, such as the puzzling 'Phoebe's ear' of Par. VI.112. A few of the worst errors are corrected in the errata list of the 1805 volumes, which explains the foregoing as 'Phoebus' car'. There is no such list in the 1785 edition, which contains the worst blunder of the lot: the first three stanzas of Inf. XXI and XXII are interchanged, with disastrous results so far as sense and sequence are concerned.

Contemporary reception of Boyd's translations was lukewarm; Dante was still little known, and the general estimate of him agreed with Jonson's Lady Politick that he 'is hard, and few can understand him'. Probably some of Boyd's reviewers were hardly qualified to give a judgment. The Monthly Review, for instance (Vol. 73, 1785, pp. 425 ff), criticises him adversely but for quite the wrong reasons; the suggestion that a too rigorous attention to rendering the sense of a very difficult writer 'has perhaps prevented Mr Boyd from smoothing his verses' is absurd. The Critical Review (June 1785) praises him likewise for imaginary merits:

Of the translator's abilities and execution, we, on the whole, think highly. He has taken some liberty with the original, but it is principally in softening absurd or offensive images; a liberty that may be considered as more than excusable. His diction is animated, his expressions in general nervous and forcible, truly characteristic of the Tuscan bard, whose spirit he has happily caught.

The Gentleman's Magazine (Vol. 55, 1785, pp. 378 ff), while it found that 'this version is in general correct and spirited, and frequently poetical', rightly censured Boyd for his amplification of the original and quoted some passages in support of this stricture. Later, when Dante became better known, and translations were numerous, Boyd ceased to be a serious competitor, although as late as 1841 the Dublin University Magazine (Vol. 17, p. 429) surprisingly remarked of him that 'he understood his ~~xxx~~ author well, and is often right where later translators are in error', adding that 'Charles Lamb thought Boyd the best translation of Dante'. In the preface to his Comment on the Divine Comedy (1822) John Taaffe trounced an unnamed translation which is obviously Boyd's:

. . . it is unnecessary to notice it; for ramblingly periphrastic, as it is, I believe that if the title page were cut out and the book handed to me, I should not be aware it was intended for a translation of Dante.

Edward N. Shannon was even more scathing in the preface to his own version of *Inferno* I-X (1836):

A Mr Boyd also kindly offered to the English public a wordy paraphrase of that author (Dante), in a stanza of his own invention. There is, however, in his attempt so heavy a preponderance of Mr Boyd that the bard of the *Inferno* sunk with him to a depth seemingly as great as that which he had described . . .

although he goes on to remark that he understands that Cary's far more accurate version 'is, by many persons, considered to be inferior to its unwieldy rival'. In the long article in the Westminster Review (January 1861, pp. 201 ff) summing up English translations of Dante to date, there is only a perfunctory and not complimentary reference to Boyd, who had by

that date become a curiosity. Neither of his Dante volumes reached a second edition, although it is interesting to note that his version of Petrarch's Triumphs, originally published in 1807, has, after more than a century of oblivion, been twice reprinted in recent times, viz. in 1906 in a limited quarto edition of 100 copies beautifully produced by the University Press, Cambridge, U.S.A., for John Murray, London, set in Humanistic type, and in 1927 by the Windsor Press, San Francisco, in a handsome octavo, set in Aldine Italic.

Notes VIII-XXIV, pp. 319. Italian and English texts as in Vol. I, pp. 1-318; errata, p. 312.

The Vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, of Dante Alighieri. Translated by the Rev. H. F. Cary, A.M., in three volumes. London: Printed for the author by J. Barfield, printer to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, 1814. Small 8vo (4½ x 2½ in.).

Vol. I. Hell, pp. iv, 320. Preface (dated January 1814), pp. iii-viii; a chronological view of the age of Dante, pp. ix-xiv; errata, p. xv; English text (4 point type; no ornaments), pp. 1-153; notes, pp. 153-270.

Vol. II. Purgatory, pp. 312. English text (as Vol. I), pp. 1-157; notes, pp. 157-312.

Vol. III. Paradise, pp. 312. English text (as Vol. I), pp. 1-155; notes, pp. 155-312.

The Vision of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, of Dante Alighieri. Translated by the Rev. Henry Francis Cary, A.M., in three volumes. The second edition corrected. With the life of Dante, additional notes, and an index. London: printed for Taylor and Bouverie, Fleet Street, 1817. Large post octavo (8½ x 5 in.).

Vol. I, pp. 10, 121, 303. Preface (of 1814, followed by an additional paragraph dated July 1816) and contents of all three volumes, printed on five unnumbered pages; life of Dante, pp. 1-121; English text of Hell, with footnotes, and argument at head of each canto, pp. 3-303.

Vol. II, pp. xi, 309. Chronological view of the age of Dante, pp. 1-xi; English text of Purgatory (as above), pp. 3-309.

Vol. III, pp. 297, 29. English text of Paradise (as above), pp. 3-297; Index of proper names, printed on 26 unnumbered pages at end.

This edition was reprinted in 1831 without revision, with John Taylor's imprint.

HENRY FRANCIS CARY

The Inferno of Dante Alighieri, with a translation into English blank verse, notes and a life of the author by the Rev. Henry Francis Cary, A.M. London: printed for James Carpenter, Old Bond Street. 2 vols, foolscap octavo. 1805, 1806.

Vol. I. Cantos I-XVII, pp. xxx, 286. Advertisement, pp. v-viii; Life of Dante (including a specimen of the Spanish translation by Villegas), pp. ix-xxix; errata, p. xxx; Italian and English texts on facing pages, no arguments, notes at end of each canto, pp. 1-286.

Vol. II. Cantos XVIII-XXXIV, pp. 319. Italian and English texts as in Vol. I, pp. 1-318; errata, p. 319.

The Vision: or, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, of Dante Alighieri. Translated by the Rev. H. F. Cary, A.M., in three volumes. London: Printed for the author by J. Barfield, printer to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, 1814. Small 16mo ($4\frac{1}{2}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.).

Vol. I. Hell, pp. xv, 220. Preface (dated January 1814), pp. iii-viii; a chronological view of the age of Dante, pp. ix-xiv; errata, p. xv; English text (6 point type; no arguments), pp. 1-153; notes, pp. 155-220.

Vol. II. Purgatory, pp. 212. English text (as Vol. I), pp. 1-157; notes, pp. 159-212.

Vol. III. Paradise, pp. 216. English text (as Vol. I), pp. 1-155; notes, pp. 157-216.

The Vision: or Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, of Dante Alighieri. Translated by the Rev. Henry Francis Cary, A.M., in three volumes. The second edition corrected. With the life of Dante, additional notes, and an index. London: printed for Taylor and Hessey, Fleet Street. 1819. Large post octavo ($8\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 in.).

Vol. I, pp. 10, lii, 303. Preface (of 1814, followed by an additional paragraph dated July 1819) and contents of all three volumes, printed on five un-numbered pages); life of Dante, pp. i-lii; English text of Hell, with footnotes, and argument at head of each canto, pp. 3-303.

Vol. II, pp. xi, 309. Chronological view of the age of Dante, pp. v-xi; English text of Purgatory (as above), pp. 3-309.

Vol. III, pp. 297, 26. English text of Paradise (as above), pp. 3-297; Index of proper names, printed on 26 un-numbered pages at end.

This edition was reprinted in 1831 without revision, with John Taylor's imprint.

The Vision; or Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, of Dante Alighieri. Translated by the Rev. Henry Francis Cary, A.M. A new edition, corrected. With the life of Dante, chronological view of his age, additional notes and index. London: William Smith, 113 Fleet Street. MDCCCXLIV. Post octavo (7 x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.), pp. v, 562, 18 un-numbered. Preface (those of 1814 and 1819 followed by one dated February 1844), pp. i-iv; contents, p. v; life of Dante, pp. 1-35; chronological view of the age of Dante, pp. 36-42; English text (8 point type, with footnotes, argument at head of each canto), pp. 43-562; index of proper names, 18 un-numbered pages.

Simultaneously with the above a cheaper edition, with two columns on each page, was issued by the same publisher.

Two American editions, which may be described as 'piratical' in that they were produced without the translator's consent and he received no payment for them, appeared during this period, viz. as two volumes (Nos. 45 and 46) of a series called The Works of the British Poets (Philadelphia, Samuel F. Bradford, 1822, twelvemo), and as one octavo volume, containing twelve Flaxman designs (New York and Philadelphia, Appleton, 1845). The former was reprinted from the 1819 and the latter from the 1844 edition.

The British Museum Catalogue records nineteen editions since Cary's death; some of these are in series which were frequently reprinted. The Vision appeared in Bohn's Library from 1850 onwards; in the Chandos Classics in 1871; in Methuen's Little and Sixpenny Libraries at the turn of the century; in Everyman's Library in 1908; and in the Oxford Poets in 1910. The first folio edition with Doré illustrations was published by Cassell in 1866, and was the forerunner of several others, down to pocket size. In 1928 the Nonesuch Press issued a folio edition, incorporating the Italian text and 42 drawings after Botticelli. There have also been numerous American editions; R. W. King in his biography of Cary (1925) mentions 12, in addition to reprints of the original Appleton issue; these include one of the Inferno, 'condensed for busy people', published at Buffalo in 1895. There have been various editions on the continent of Europe, among which may be mentioned the luxurious Fattorusso illustrated quarto (Florence, 1930).

Henry Francis Cary (1772-1844) was born at Gibraltar, a few months before his father, Captain William Cary, returned to England with the First Regiment of Foot and, resigning his commission, settled down in Staffordshire as a country gentleman. The poet's mother was Henrietta Brocas, his ancestry being Anglo-Irish on both sides and Anglican in religion; the forefathers of both parents included clergymen and soldiers. Henry went to Rugby in 1783, but after two years there completed his schooling first

at Sutton Coldfield then at Birmingham; already he had begun to write verses, an occupation in which he was encouraged by Anna Seward, the poetess, whose acquaintance he made in his teens; by 1787 his poems had begun to appear in the pages of the Gentleman's Magazine, to which he later contributed critical articles of some quality. In 1790 Cary went to Oxford, his college being Christ Church; he was a thoroughly competent classical scholar, and now he devoted much time to the study of modern European literature. His reading, both ancient and modern, was very wide, Pindar being his favourite among the classics, and Dante very early becoming his major enthusiasm among the later writers. He graduated in 1794 and after some hesitation (the alternative, strangely enough, being a military career) he decided to enter the Church, and was ordained in 1796. His father's influence gained his presentation to the small living of Abbots Bromley in Staffordshire, to which that of Kingsbury in Warwickshire was added in 1800. In 1796 he married Jane Ormsby of Dublin, whose mother had been a friend of his own mother; they had six sons and two daughters. The deaths of the latter, the younger in 1807 aged six, and the elder in 1816 aged seventeen, caused overwhelming grief to the poet, and from the former date is noticeable the melancholy and despondency which from time to time interfered with his literary pursuits. In 1803, having placed a curate in charge of his livings, Cary moved to London, which was his home for the rest of his life. Always somewhat straitened financially, though never in actual want, he eked out the proceeds of his writing, very meagre at first, by readerships and curacies; then in 1826 he was appointed Assistant-Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum. He discharged the duties of this post to the satisfaction of his superiors for eleven years, although at times he found them onerous and irksome. When Cary's immediate senior, Baber, retired in 1837, the poet was bitterly chagrined

by the appointment to the vacant post of his junior, Panizzi, and forthwith resigned. This was perhaps the best thing that could have happened; since his wife's death in 1832 Cary had felt increasingly the burden of years and mental strain; he was now able to spend the rest of his life in quiet leisure. He died at Willesden in 1844, and was buried in the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey, where a brief epitaph immortalises him as 'The Translator of Dante'. His third son, the Rev. Henry Cary, published a memoir, including his father's literary journal and letters, in 1847; there is also an excellent modern biography and appreciation, The Translator of Dante, by R. W. King (London, 1925), which contains a full account of Cary's domestic affairs, literary activities and friendships, and has been invaluable in preparing this biographical sketch.

It is certainly as the translator of Dante that Cary is remembered. His other work, though not negligible, has long been forgotten. Much of it was published in periodicals, especially in the short-lived London Magazine during the period 1821-4; this included his continuation of Johnson's Lives of the Poets, essays on Early French Poets, and numerous critical articles and reviews of books. He published a translation of The Birds of Aristophanes in 1824, and of the Odes of Pindar in 1833; but these, although well received, were superseded and lost sight of. Cary himself, moreover, was quiet and studious by nature, disinclined to court publicity; and indeed but for a happy accident even his Dante might have shared the fate of his Greek volumes.

As early as 1792 we find Cary corresponding with Miss Seward about Dante, and endeavouring to convince her, by means of short prose versions among other things, that she need not deplore, as she had done, the vitiating influence of Italian poetry, nor feel dubious 'of Cary's taste and

feeling, since he now prefers Petrarch to Young's Night Thoughts'. The 'Swan of Lichfield' remained unimpressed, however, and Cary's allegiance to Dante effectively separated him from her domination, which would certainly have been harmful. Cary's blank verse translation began in earnest with the first five cantos of the Purgatorio in 1797; there was then a lapse of a year or two, and when he resumed work in 1800 he decided to translate the Inferno first. It was published in two parts, in 1805-6, and in his preface Cary set forth briefly the principles on which he had worked.

I have aimed at not only adding to the original text a translation so faithful, as, with the assistance of the notes, to enable one moderately skilled in the Italian tongue to understand my author, but at producing a work which shall not be totally devoid of interest to the mere English reader.

The reception of the volumes was varied; the Literary Journal unaccountably found that the 'blank verse is often very harsh, and at times so obscure that we have been obliged to have recourse to the Italian'. Cary's friend Price, writing in the Critical Review was mildly favourable. So was the writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, but the review contained a celebrated misprint, in a quotation from Cary's own preface, resulting in the statement that Dante was 'certainly one of the most obscene writers in any language'! The most encouraging notice was in the Monthly Review.

In the first grand requisite of a translator, fidelity, Mr Cary seems to have outstripped his predecessors; for it is seldom indeed that we have been able to detect him in the too common operations of adding to or subtracting from his original. When we add that his versification is generally poetic and harmonious, and that his biographical sketch and notes are expressed with brevity and neatness, we conceive that we have duly appreciated the character of his labours.

The British Critic, reviewing Howard's version in 1808, compared it with Cary's, on the whole to the latter's advantage. Miss Seward, at first interested, became unkindly critical; she showed the translation to Sir



Walter Scott whom she reports as saying that 'there was power and skill in having breathed so much spirit into a translation so nearly literal'.

From the commercial point of view the venture was unsuccessful; the sales were small, the public uninterested. By 1813 Cary had completed the whole Comedy, but he could find no publisher to undertake its production, and he decided to publish at his own expense. This was a severe strain on his financial resources; in an effort at economy he gravely diminished the book's chances of success. The Italian text had to be dropped; a tiny page size, with six point type, was adopted; complaints of unreadability were frequent when the three volumes appeared in 1814. In his short preface Cary gave his well-known explanation of the title adopted for the poem, The Vision, which was retained in all subsequent editions. Once again the reception by press and public was most discouraging. The Monthly Review gave it a friendly notice, but had so much to say about the strain on the reader's eyesight as to deter prospective purchasers. The Gentleman's Magazine, although it called the translation 'noble and worthy' did not review it adequately. The Critical Review, which had now changed ownership, was, in Cary's own words, 'contemptuous', averring that the connoisseur 'would never barter Dante's chaste beauties for the fanciful portrait of an English artist. The subject is sublime--not so the prevailing language of this translator.' Personal friends were complimentary, but sales, the most important matter to Cary for the time being, languished.

Then in 1817 came Cary's meeting with Coleridge at Littlehampton, which completely changed his prospects. The story of their acquaintance is well and fully told by King in his biography. Until then Coleridge had never heard of Cary's translation; at the very first meeting he borrowed a copy, and by the following day was already enthusiastic. In February 1818 Coleridge

referred, in the tenth lecture of his last course on European Literature, to Cary's translation, and in the same month an article on it by Ugo Foscolo appeared in the influential Edinburgh Review, the opening paragraph of which ran:

Of all the translators of Dante with whom we are acquainted, Mr Cary is the most successful; and we cannot but consider his work as a great acquisition to the English reader. It is executed with a fidelity almost without example; and, though the measure he has adopted conveys no idea of the original stanza, it is perhaps the best for his purpose, and what Dante himself would have chosen, if he had written in English and in a later day. The reasons which influenced the mind of our own Milton would most probably have determined the author of the *Inferno*.

Foscolo made some criticisms, but he added: '(Cary) walks not unfrequently by the side of his master, and sometimes perhaps goes beyond him.' The effect of such support was almost instantaneous; laudatory articles began to appear in other journals; and best of all a publisher was quickly found to take up the unsold copies of the 1814 edition and to produce a new one. In 1819 Taylor and Hessey issued the second edition in three well-produced octavo volumes, the brief preface to which paid due tribute to Coleridge.

Cary's work was now fully established in public favour; by 1826 the second edition was exhausted. Cary would have liked to revise it again, but his duties at the Museum left him with scanty leisure, and eventually in 1831 the third edition appeared as a straight reprint of the second. After his retirement, and particularly during the last two years of his life, Cary concentrated his efforts on final revision; in this task he had the co-operation of George Darley, as well as some help from John A. Carlyle and Charles Lyell. Unable to come to terms with Taylor, he entrusted the publication to William Smith with whom he had already had dealings in connexion with his editions of the English poets. Cary's strength had been failing for some time, and the correction of the proofs cost him some effort;

but he lived to see the appearance of the new edition in March 1844.

Cary's translation is written in continuous blank verse, divided into paragraphs, with a preponderance of masculine endings, although feminine ones are by no means uncommon, and sometimes several occur close together. There is no attempt at line for line translation, or to preserve the *terzine*, except in a few special instances, e.g. the inscription on the gate of Hell (*Inf.* III.1-9) is very effectively rendered line for line, but the acrostic of *Purg.* XII and the symmetrical structure of the end of *Par.* XIX and the beginning of *Par.* XX are not reproduced at all. Sentences are as a rule remodelled in the English fashion; we have none of the reflections of Italian syntax common in later versions. The translation contains 13,919 lines against Dante's 14,233, i.e. an average of some three lines less per canto; actually about twenty cantos are longer than Dante's by a line or two, six being the maximum; the others are shorter by a line or two, fifteen being the extreme case.

It will be noted that some stress was laid by contemporary critics on the literalness of Cary's translation, but it must be remembered that the standard of comparison at that time was a type of rendering very far from the letter. Seventeenth century versions of the Italian and Spanish poets, Dryden's *Virgil* and Pope's *Homer*, and so recent a production as Boyd's *Dante*, were paraphrases; at best a rehandling of the matter in an entirely different poetic idiom, at worst a travesty of it. The term 'literal translation' to-day suggests such word for word treatment as Longfellow's or Butler's. Cary followed a via media, clearly and briefly expressed in the sentence quoted above from his first preface. His matter is essentially that of Dante, with very negligible omissions or additions; the former seem, as a rule, merely accidental, the latter are usually tied epithets.

His manner of reproducing that matter is not, in some important respects at least, the manner of Dante, for Cary was a poet, albeit a minor one, and resolved to write English poetry.

On the score of accuracy Cary must be given high praise. It is true that his version contains quite a few examples of what we should to-day call mistranslations; but in almost every case these are due to inferior readings or interpretations which were current, and therefore legitimate, at the time when he wrote. His notes and his correspondence demonstrate his unflagging conscientiousness; he made every possible effort to arrive at the real meaning of the original, and where he is unsuccessful he will be found to err in good company so far as his own day was concerned. These mistranslations are seldom such as matter seriously, and it is no exaggeration to say that even to-day a reader can obtain the gist of Dante's meaning almost as accurately from Cary as from any modern prose translation.

Cary's translation has enjoyed a popularity far beyond any of its nineteenth century rivals, as can be seen from the bibliographical details given. For nearly a hundred years, its only serious rival was Longfellow; at the beginning of the present century the Temple edition (containing the Carlyle - Okey - Wicksteed version) began to displace it. We can safely say, however, that for nearly a century a very large proportion of British students of Dante first made acquaintance with the Divine Comedy through Cary, for hardly any collection of books could be found that did not include a copy of The Vision. In many cases chance acquaintance with Cary's volume may have been the spark from which a great flame followed. Cary thus occupies a position in the English-speaking Dante tradition which may justly be called unique. There has admittedly been a decline in his reputation of recent years, and some harsh criticisms have been made;

perhaps it will help in making a calm assessment of his worth if we digress for the moment into a brief record of personal experience which I know from inquiry corresponds fairly closely to that of others.

I became possessed of a copy of Cary at the age of thirteen, and promptly devoured the *Inferno*, then plodded rather more slowly and steadily through the rest, enthusiasm waning, it must be confessed, at times while tackling the *Paradiso*. I knew many portions by heart long before reading a line of the Italian. During the next few years, while becoming gradually acquainted with the classics and the literature of France, Spain and Germany, thanks to Cary I knew enough about Dante to be able to see his work in its historical perspective and to appreciate roughly its relation to the development of European thought and art. These impressions, derived from Cary, were for the most part confirmed in the light of later study. When, however, at the age of seventeen, I first began to read the *Divine Comedy* in Italian, I received something of a shock; for I found that while Dante said just what I already knew he said, he said it in an entirely different way from what I had been led to expect. As literary artists or, let us say, users of language, Dante and Cary seemed poles apart. The nearest parallel I can offer is the similar feeling on my first acquaintance with New Testament Greek after being long steeped in the stately idiom of the Authorised Version. While reading Dante, I found Longfellow useful, and now it is usually his rendering that comes to mind when I want an English equivalent of the Italian. Except for a few odd lines, Cary has almost completely faded from memory, and on re-reading now seems a trifle strange. There are, however, one or two notable exceptions, the most striking of which is Cary's version of *Inf. III.1-9*:

Through me you pass into the city of woe:
Through me you pass into eternal pain:

Through me among the people lost for aye.
Justice the founder of my fabric moved:
To rear me was the task of power divine,
Supremest wisdom, and primeval love.
Before me things create were none, save things
Eternal, and eternal I endure.
All hope abandon, ye who enter here.

There are well over a hundred other translations of this passage, but not one of them can compare with this; not a few, in despair, have been content to borrow Cary's phrases, especially the last line. It is easy to object to details: 'the founder of my fabric' is stilted; 'to rear me was the task' is mainly padding; 'for aye' is not in the original; 'create' is archaic. Yet as a whole these lines are essentially right, to some extent because the original has the rhetorical foundation which was familiar ground to Cary, and can be reproduced line for line without doing violence to his conception of blank verse. Elsewhere Cary has preferred to decline the gambit. We find, for instance, something of the same accent in Par. XIV.40-51, but there is little reflection of it in the English:

bright

As fervent; fervent as, in vision, blest;
And that as far, in blessedness, exceeding,
As it hath grace, beyond its virtue, great.
Our shape, regarmented with glorious weeds
Of saintly flesh, must, being thus entire,
Show yet more gracious. Therefore shall increase
Whate'er, of light, gratuitous imparts
The Supreme Good; light, ministering aid,
The better to disclose his glory: whence,
The vision needs increasing, must increase
The fervour, which it kindles; and that too
The ray, that comes from it.

Cary's blank verse is often described as Miltonic, and it is true that he has based his prosody to a large extent on Milton. In his effort, however, to preserve the precision and simplicity of Dante, he wisely avoids for the most part Milton's polysyllables and musical rhythms; so that there is a strong resemblance between his style and Cowper's, including something

of the uncertainty of Cowper's touch. The often quoted line from Yardley Oak, 'And now as with excoriate forks deform', has many parallels in Cary: Geryon's 'retractile claws', the 'conflagrant mass' of the purgatorial fire, the stream that flows 'from rock to rock transpicuous'. The essential difference between Cary and his original is that for him the unit is, save for occasional exceptions, never the line or terza, but the period or verse paragraph; and he goes to work very deliberately to break up those lines and groups of lines which are the foundation of Dante's prosody. The results of this are clearly seen in the passage quoted above, and in those given in Appendix I, where even the strong lyric metre at the beginning of Par. XXXIII is broken up. Or compare Dante (Inf. XXXI.16-8):

Dopo la dolorosa rotta quando
Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta,
Non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando,

with Cary:

So terrible a blast
Orlando blew not, when that dismal rout
O'erthrew the host of Charlemagne, and quenched
His saintly warfare.

There, in a nutshell, is the difference 'dall'uno all'altro stilo'.

Critics have frequently complained of the monotony of Cary's blank verse as against the variety of the original, and this impression is on the whole borne out by experience. It is at variance with the opinion of Coleridge, who considered Cary's blank verse 'the most varied and harmonious to my ear of any since Milton', and who wrote to Cary:

I still affirm that, to my ear and to my judgment, both your metre and your rhythm have in a far greater degree than I know any instance of, the variety of Milton without any mere Miltonisms, that . . . the verse has this variety without any loss of continuity, and that this is the excellence of the work considered as a translation of Dante - that it gives the reader a similar feeling of wandering and wandering, onward and onward.

Unfortunately the record we possess of Coleridge's lecture on Dante (27th

February 1818) in which he quoted and praised Cary's translation does not preserve any of his remarks on the latter which, according to a marginal note on his manuscript, were made extempore. We know some of the passages he read, but these were selected to illustrate his observations on Dante rather than to show the worth of Cary. Among the 'endless subtle beauties' of Dante Coleridge mentions Inf. XXIX.1-3:

La molta gente e le diverse piaghe
Avean le luci mie sì inebriate,
Che dello stare a piangere eran vaghe,

compared with which Cary's

So were mine eyes inebriate with the view
Of the vast multitude, whom various wounds
Disfigured, that they longed to stay and weep

lacks altogether the distinctive quality which Coleridge must have had in mind. Passages can be found, however, where Cary has successfully reproduced Dante's quick contrasts, e.g. Purg. XVIII.85-96:

I therefore, when my questions had obtained
Solution plain and ample, stood as one
Musing in dreamy slumber; but not long
Slumbered; for suddenly a multitude,
The steep already turning from behind,
Rushed on. With fury and like random rout,
As echoing on their shores at midnight heard
Ismenus and Asopus, for his Thebes
If Bacchus' help were needed; so came these
Tumultuous, curving each his rapid step,
By eagerness impelled of holy love.

On the other hand, consider such a passage as Purg. XV.64-75:

Thy mind, reverting still to things of earth,
Strikes darkness from true light. The highest good
Unlimited, ineffable, doth so speed
To love, as beam to lucid body darts,
Giving as much of ardour as it finds.
The sempiternal effluence spreads abroad,
Spreading, wherever charity extends.
So that the more aspirants to that bliss
Are multiplied, more good is there to love,
And more is loved; as mirrors, that reflect,
Each unto other, propagated light.

There is nothing here to arrest the reader, who might well skim the passage

Henry Francis Cary (14)

as just another of Virgil's homilies; he would certainly not suspect the presence of the magnificent *terzina*:

Tanto si dà quanto trova d'ardore;
sì che, quantunque carità si stende,
cresce sovr'essa l'eterno valore.

Nor are the words 'aspirants', 'multiplied', 'propagated' reflections of the vocabulary of the original, for it is plain and forceful:

E quanta gente più là su s'intende,
più v'è da bene amare, e più vi s'ama,
e come specchio l'uno all'altro rende.

Coleridge's view is justified to this extent, that if we set Cary against the general background of minor poetry in the generation to which he belonged, and if we compare his method of translating Dante with that of his predecessors, his achievement is brilliant by contrast. The ability to render the Divine Comedy with precision and restraint, and at the same time to write blank verse of genuine and sustained quality, must have impressed Coleridge more than we, looking back, can readily realise; although we have more than enough dreadful examples of what Dante became in the hands of Cary's contemporaries.

But having agreed that Cary is sufficiently accurate to convey a good notion of the content of the Divine Comedy, sufficiently poetical to maintain an adequate level of expression throughout and to attain at times something still better, and sufficiently ingenious to have occasionally reproduced in a striking manner the distinctive features of the original, we are obliged to add that he is far from achieving that variety which is one of the most remarkable properties of the Comedy. Dante's ingenuity is apparently endless; there is not a canto in which his faculty of invention does not astonish us several times over; hardly one in which we do not find some new device appearing for the first time. Except for a few well-marked mannerisms Dante shows unusual restraint in not repeating his effects, and

even more unusual ability in finding new ones; even in the last canto of *Paradiso* he still has some in reserve. The semi-isolation of the *terzina*, which can be either strongly tied or loosely bound to its neighbours at will, is admirably suited to this variety; whereas the blank verse paragraph, with its avoidance of end-stopping and its medial caesura, tends towards unity and evenness, and requires more space for development. Such a canto as *Purg. XXVII* is a good example: Dante's confusion and hesitation, Virgil's repeated assurances and final invocation of 'il nome / che nella mente sempre mi rampolla'; the passage through the fire; sunset and the vivid picture of the last night on the mountain; Dante's dream and awakening; the 'voler sopra voler' which makes him hasten to the summit; the first glimpse of the terrestrial paradise and Virgil's valedictory speech. Although it is adequately and competently translated by Cary, his version lacks that energy and inventiveness which make the original such an astonishing performance.

In his biography of Cary, King has an Appendix on Cary's diction, showing the extent to which he drew on the earlier literary resources of the language. Cary was steeped in English poetry, and his familiarity with Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare, as well as Milton and later writers, enabled him to enrich his vocabulary and phraseology with expressions that were vivid and forceful without an undue tinge of archaism. Although his debt to Milton is considerable, he was by no means a mere imitator, and his style fuses several of the best strains from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Direct reminiscences of Milton, like the 'keys of metal twain' (*Purg. IX.117*), or

ere the sun have yoked
Beneath another star his flamy steeds

(*Purg. XXXII.56-7*) are not over-frequent. Cary has Milton's love of proper

names; Purg. XXIX.100-2 is typical of several good touches:

But read
Ezekiel; for he paints them, from the north
How he beheld them come by Chebar's flood,
In whirlwind, cloud, and fire.

Quite as often we have lines that recall Shakespeare, e.g. 'The strains came o'er mine ear, e'en as the sound / Of choral voices' (Purg. IX.142-3), or, somewhat incongruously (Purg. XVII.31), 'That unsubstantial coinage of the brain'. He seldom descends to the cliché, and 'foot it featly' or 'feathered choristers' are casual lapses, although the latter is typical of an occasional tendency to 'elegant variation'. He can be majestic at times with effect, as in 'Goodness celestial, whose broad signature / Is on the universe' (= 'la divina bontà, che 'l mondo impronta', Par. VII.109), or, with rather less aptness in the context (Purg. XV.14-5):

as a screen,
That of its gorgeous superflux of light
Clips the diminished orb.

The strong *terzina* in Par. III.118-20 is well imitated in

This is the luminary
Of mighty Constance, who from that loud blast,
Which blew the second over Suabia's realm,
That power produced, which was the third and last,

the accidental rhyme here being unusual in Cary, although some couplets occur (these - ease, Purg. XIV.108-9; moon - noon, Purg. XXIX.153-4; doth - cloth, Par. XXXII.140-2).

There are far more good things in Cary than can be enumerated here, and we will content ourselves by quoting a well rendered passage from each of the three *cantiche*.

'Now needs thy best of man'; so spake my guide:
'For not on downy plumes, nor under shade
Of canopy reposing, fame is won;
Without which whosoe'er consumes his days,
Leaveth such vestige of himself on earth,

As smoke in air or foam upon the wave.
Thou therefore rise: vanquish thy weariness
By the mind's effort, in each struggle formed
To vanquish, if she suffer not the weight
Of her corporeal frame to crush her down.
A longer ladder yet remains to scale.
From these to have escaped sufficeth not,
If well thou note me, profit by my words.

(Inf. XXIV.46-57)

Hell's dunnest gloom, or night unlustrous, dark,
Of every planet reft, and palled in clouds,
Did never spread before the sight a veil
In thickness like that fog, nor to the sense
So palpable and gross. Entering its shade,
Mine eye endured not with unclosed lids;
Which marking, near me drew the faithful guide,
Offering me his shoulder for a stay.

As the blind man behind his leader walks,
Lest he should err, or stumble unawares
On what might harm him or perhaps destroy;
I journeyed through that bitter air and foul,
Still listening to my escort's warning voice,
'Look that from me thou part not'. Straight I heard
Voices, and each one seemed to pray for peace,
And for compassion, to the Lamb of God
Which taketh sins away. Their prelude still
Was 'Agnus Dei'; and through all the choir,
One voice, one measure ran, that perfect seemed
The concord of their song.

(Purg. XVI.1-21)

Here memory mocks the toil of genius. Christ
Beamed on that cross; and pattern fails me now.
But whoso takes his cross, and follows Christ,
Will pardon me for that I leave untold,
When in the fleckered dawning he shall spy
The glitterance of Christ. From horn to horn,
And 'tween the summit and the base, did move
Lights, scintillating, as they met and passed.
Thus oft are seen with ever-changeable glance,
Straight or athwart, now rapid and now slow,
The atomies of bodies, long or short,
To move along the sunbeam, whose slant line
Chequers the shadow interposed by art
Against the noontide heat. And as the chime
Of minstrel music, dulcimer, and harp
With many strings, a pleasant dinning makes
To him, who heareth not distinct the note;
So from the lights, which there appeared to me,
Gathered along the cross a melody,
That, indistinctly heard, with ravishment
Possessed me. Yet I marked it was a hymn
Of lofty praises; for there came to me
'Arise', and 'Conquer', as to one who hears

And comprehends not. Me such ecstasy
O'ercame, that never, till that hour, was thing
That held me in so sweet imprisonment.

(Par. XIV.103-29)

In conclusion, Saintsbury's tribute in the Cambridge History of English Literature is a fair summing up:

(Cary's translation is) a courageous, scholarly and almost fully justified recognition that attempts directly to conquer the difficulty by adopting rimed terza rima are doomed to failure; and that all other, in stanza or rimed verse of any kind, are evasions to begin with, and almost as certain failures to boot. It may even be said to be a further, and a very largely successful, recognition of the fact that blank verse, while 'nearest prose' in one sense, and, therefore, sharing its advantages, is almost furthest from it in another, in the peculiar qualities of rhythm which it demands. Cary does not quite come up to this latter requisition, but, unless Milton had translated Dante, nobody could have done so. Meanwhile, Cary's verse translation has gone the furthest and come the nearest. It is no slight achievement.

NATHANIEL HOWARD

The Inferno of Dante Alighieri, Translated into English blank-verse, with notes, historical, classical, and explanatory, and a life of the author by Nathaniel Howard. London: Printed for John Murray Fleet-Street; and A. Constable & Co., Edinburgh. 1807. Foolscap octavo, pp. xiv, 294. Preface, pp. v-viii; Life of Dante, pp. ix-xxiv; English text, with very brief arguments prefixed to each canto, pp. 1-210; notes, pp. 211-93; errata, p. 294.

Nathaniel Howard (1781-1834) was an interesting personality. Toynbee was unable to obtain much information about him; he quotes James Northcote's remark (from the Memoir of Sir Joshua Reynolds) that Howard was 'an ornament to his county'. In the course of pursuing other information, however, I came across a letter ~~xx~~ in Notes and Queries (5th ser., Vol. VIII, 1877, p. 417) signed 'Jabez' (this writer was a frequent contributor on Dante matters) which, referring to some earlier correspondence about English translations of the Divine Comedy, states:

It is worth a note that Nathaniel Howard's translation of the Inferno was made when he was under twenty years of age. My copy was given by him to John Britton, and has the recipient's signature, and a note of the author's age in the same handwriting.

This is less convincing than if the note had been made by Howard; but it was so interesting that vigorous inquiries were initiated, and by a piece of good luck the co-operation of the City Librarian at Plymouth led to correspondence with Mr A. G. K. Leonard who was also engaged in collecting facts about Howard. The result is that a biographical sketch, though incomplete, is now available, and is summarised below. Mr Leonard published the results of his investigation in the Western Morning News on 20th March 1953.

Howard was a native of Plymouth, and it is stated in Benjamin Haydon's memoirs that he attended the old Corporation Grammar School as a

charity boy. His linguistic studies, however, went far beyond the normal classical curriculum of the times, for not only did he know Hebrew but was also something of an authority on Persian poetry, on which he lectured more than once to the Plymouth Institution in that city's Athenaeum. Just where Howard completed his studies we do not know; in 1804 his book of poems (see below) was published at York. But by 1812 he was established at Harwood House, Tamerton, as headmaster of what is described as 'a respectable and prosperous grammar school' where, according to a contemporary directory, young gentlemen could be instructed 'in the Greek and Latin classics, English grammar, etc.'. Tamerton lies a couple of miles or so north-west of Plymouth near where to-day the Saltash railway bridge crosses the Tamar estuary; in these days it was a quiet residential village, and doubtless suited Howard, who frequently expressed his dislike of towns and his love of the country. In 1830 the Plymouth Institution lists among its honorary members 'Nathaniel Howard of Eton', but nothing is known of his residence there. His son, Nathaniel Arscott Howard, was a pupil at Eton and entered Exeter College, Oxford, in 1836, being described in the matriculation register as 'son of Nathaniel Howard of Tamerton, Devon'. The elder Howard may have moved to Eton to supervise his son's education; all that can be said with certainty is that he died at Margate in 1834, and that his wife survived him for some years, during which she resided in Plymouth.

Howard's first literary enterprise was a slim volume of verse, Bickleigh Vale and other Poems, published at York in 1804, i.e. when he was in his early twenties; it was reprinted in London two years later, and again in Devonport in 1856; while towards the end of the century the title poem was reprinted in Wright's anthology of West Country Poets. A few lines from it will show that Howard was a competent but conventional versifier

in the style of the late eighteenth century. He loves, he says, to let his eye

Shoot from dun granite rocks, to cultured slopes;
To emerald vales, to black-descending woods,
To crowding fields, to brown broad moors, to streams
Bright-bursting headlong from the dusky cliffs.
Whilst opening on the skies, the mighty roar
Of rough cascades deafens the listening ear,
And swells the grandeur of the rugged scene.

This was followed in 1807 by his translation of the *Inferno*, i.e. when he was twenty-six. It seems unlikely that it was composed before he was twenty; certainly the erudite notes look like later work. Even for a young man of twenty-six with many other activities it was a noteworthy feat, although, as will be seen, it does not rank among the more successful English versions.

Howard also busied himself throughout his life with the production of educational books. As early as 1808 he issued a Vocabulary of English and Greek for the use of Young Persons. The British Museum Catalogue records numerous other books of the kind; reprints of the Vocabulary in 1815, 1819 and 1823; Greenwood's London Vocabulary revised (1817); Greek Exercises (1819 and 1843); Select Latin Phrases (1827); Latin Exercises (1820) which, revised by H. Prior, was reprinted as late as 1869. The first volumes of the printed Transactions of the Plymouth Institution preserve several lectures given by him, including a long and learned paper On Persian Poetry, of which the British Museum has a copy dated 1830.

Howard was evidently a man of great ability, industry and determination; but it is probable that his preoccupation with educational affairs and books prevented him from giving enough leisurely attention to the study of Dante for his translation and notes to be more than a learned exercise. His preface to the *Inferno*, as the following extracts show, is written in a confident tone for so young a man.

The translator offers the following work to the candid judgment of the public. He intends not to enter into a formal defence of himself for adopting blank-verse, but rather regrets that national custom obliged Dante to confine his great genius to the shackles of rhyme. Blank-verse seems more analogous to his sublime manner, and therefore it is preferred in this translation.

A servile Anglo-Italian version has been avoided, equally as much as too great a latitude from the original. A medium has been attempted; but with what success, those who are competent to judge of the genius of both languages, and of the characteristic style of Dante, will decide.

That the poet, like our immortal Shakespeare, hurried away by the effervescence of imagination, has been guilty of many extravagances, and ludicrous images, is readily admitted; but these defects in both should be rather attributed, perhaps, to the vicious taste of the age in which they lived, than to the authors themselves. . . .

It is universally allowed that the Inferno is the grandest production of Dante; for the Purgatorio and Paradiso, though affording numerous passages of singular strength and beauty, are certainly too much tinctured with the philosophy and scholastic theology of the age, to be understood and relished by modern readers: a version, therefore, of the Inferno alone is now submitted to the public.

It can be seen that Howard was willing to be an improver as well as a translator, and he often paraphrases, although he does not make such wild departures from the text as Boyd and Hume. His blank verse makes no attempt to keep to the lines or terzine of the original; most of his cantos are some ten or twelve lines shorter than Dante's. His style and manner, as may be inferred from the Preface, are those of the previous century; for the most part his blank verse is pedestrian and his language undistinguished, though he sometimes rises to the occasion. He is at his best in the purple passages, such as Francesca, Ulysses and Ugolino; at other times he seems out of sympathy with Dante, and fails completely to reflect his characteristic features, losing the direct vigour of the Italian through his efforts to refine and ornament. At his worst he is so bad that one feels that he found his task boring.

As might be expected, one of his contributions towards the refinement of Dante is to play down the nuovo ludo of cantos XXI and XXII. The former canto ends:

Full on the left they turn'd: but first his tongue
Each prest between his tusks, and to his chief
Look'd for a signal, which that demon gave.

The 'diversa cennamella' of XXII.10 becomes 'such strange, terrific sound', while line 58 is rendered 'so the hapless prey / Fell between evil talons'. One would imagine from this that Howard's text had the reading 'male branche' which occurs in a few MSS., but in the notes he quotes the line in full, 'Tra male gatte era venuto il sorco' and adds '"So the mouse fell between the cat's paws." This metaphor is as ludicrous as the simile of his Tuscan brother, Ariosto.' XVIII.114, 'che dalli uman privadi pareva mosso', is omitted altogether; XXV.115-7 are likewise omitted and replaced with two of his own:

He, downward from the middle, all was man,
While from the other shot the serpent train.

Other passages are obviously written up. In canto II Beatrice is introduced thus:

With those I dwelt
Who feel nor pain nor pleasure after death.
When to my dazzled gaze a virgin form
Came gliding, fair in angel beauty, came;
And all-commanding, call'd me near. Her eyes
Like stars a living lustre stream'd. She spake;
Words, sweet as nectar, melted on her lips.
Seraphic flow'd her voice and thus began.

Virgil replies with urbanity:

I know thy will;
Enough, fair saint, display no more thy powers.

Beatrice (lines 109-11) goes on:

She ceas'd, nor worldlings speedier urge their way
To grasp their gain, or shun the spectre want,
Than I went gliding from my shrine of bliss.

he comments on the beauty of this passage. A similar enthusiasm can be seen in the closing lines of the Ulysses passage (see Appendix I); his rendering of the opening of canto XXIV is also good.

Howard seems on the whole to have followed Dante's meaning well, but occasionally he mistranslates through failure to understand the Italian. In XV.10-12 he reverses the sense:

such in form
Those alpine moles, tho' less in height and bulk
Than these in hell rais'd by a mightier power.

He has not grasped the meaning of 'che su l'avere, e qui me misi in borsa' (XIX.72) which he makes into 'So wealth on earth here purchas'd me this hell'. 'Qui vive la pietà quand'è ben morta' (XX.28) becomes 'Pity tho' dead, here mostly seems alive'; in the copy of the book in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, this line is cancelled in ink and an alternative is written in: 'Rather thou shouldst be dead to pity here.' XXIII.7-9 is rendered:

Nought can be more alike, if now, with skill,
The origin and end be both compared,

and in a note Howard states that mo ed issa = Latin modo plus adesso = 'now', showing that the point of Dante's use of the words has eluded him. Curiously, in canto XXIII he twice refers to the glittering dress of the hypocrites as 'scorching', a mistake also made by Boyd, whereas Hume twice describes the same garments as 'cold'. In the same passage, however, Howard produces one of his most striking single lines: 'Oh in eterno faticoso manto' becomes 'Oh! ever-weary, ever-worn attire!' By changing XXXIII.117 to 'May Minos hurl me to the lowest depth!' he ruins the point of the sinister joke. The worst piece of confusion is in XXXIV.4-7:

As when heavy clouds
Breathe darkness, or dense shades converging round

Benight our hemisphere, what far descried
Appears a towering windmill whirl'd by blasts,
Such seemed the wondrous fabric to my gaze.

The confusion is increased by an earlier note on XXXI.31: ~~Don~~

Dante here mistakes giants for towers, and, in the thirty-fourth canto, a windmill for a giant; hence, perhaps (as the author of the Caliph Vathek observes), we may trace Don Quixote's mistake of the windmills for giants.

The passage referred to is not in Beckford's book but among the 'notes critical and explanatory' appended to Samuel Henley's English translation of Vathek, which does not refer to canto XXXI, but to XXXIV.2-7 and 28-31.

Anyhow what Henley actually says is:

It is more than probable (though it has not been noticed), that Don Quixote's mistake of the windmills for Giants, was suggested to Cervantes by the following simile, in which the Tremendous personage above mentioned is so compared.

Howard's phrase 'mistakes . . . a windmill for a giant' and his version of line 7 obscure the point of the simile altogether.

One of Howard's most noticeable and irritating mannerisms is that of repeating a word or even a phrase pointlessly, as in 'Came gliding, fair in angel beauty, came' quoted above. So, 'breathing rank vapour, laves, encircling, laves' (IX.31), 'Not mountain-water runs, / Sluic'd from a torrent, not so nimbly runs' (XXIII.46). He approaches the level of 'Sophonisba' in IX.122:

while deep lament
Forth issued, such as well might issue forth
From victims in such torture,

and touches it in XVII.115: 'He sails down slowly, slowly downward sails', where he is trying to imitate Dante's anaphora, 'lenta, lenta'. Unfortunately Howard nearly always uses his device in the wrong place.

There are two gaffes in canto XXVII. Lines 112-3 become:

I died: . . . from the dark kingdom of the dead
Saint Francis hasten'd to require my soul,

Nathaniel Howard (9)

where either 'from' is a misprint for 'to' or there is an eschatological blunder; while line 121 reads ludicrously: 'Hell! how I trembled in his burning grasp.'

Howard's eighty pages of notes are over-learned and diffuse, and do little to clarify Dante. He quotes freely in all languages, ancient and modern, including Hebrew, which evidently gave the printer some trouble, involving several entries in the errata. Under 'lo vas d'elezione' in canto II there is a long and quite irrelevant discussion on Paul's use of the word skeuos. A long note on Dido fails to throw any light on Dante's allusion, because Howard deals with the historical Dido and does not even mention her role in the Aeneid. Under 'ambo le chiavi' (XIII) he quotes parallel passages about the keys from writers as various as Gray, Milton (Comus; he does not mention Lycidas), Ben Jonson, Phineas Fletcher and Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas; and in explanation of 'la Fenice' (XXIV) he quotes twenty-four indifferent Alexandrines from Motin's French version of Claudian. The 'Life of Dante' at the beginning of the book is brief, uncritical and somewhat anecdotal.

The Monthly Review noticed Howard's book immediately after its appearance (April 1807), preferring its blank verse to Boyd's rhymed stanzas, but making no mention of Cary, whose book was not reviewed in this magazine till the following year. The paragraph was neither severe nor enthusiastic:

Mr Howard has, in most instances, rendered the meaning with sufficient accuracy; and if his lines are not always highly poetical, they are seldom harsh, or carelessly constructed.

In April 1808 the British Critic published a longer article, comparing Howard's translation with Cary's, to the advantage of the latter, though not very emphatically so. The first six lines of canto II are analysed, and Cary's version shown to be more accurate than Howard's. The review goes on:

We are not quite satisfied with either translator in the opening of canto III . . . But we rather prefer Cary. We could point out passages ~~xxx~~ in which we prefer Howard.

It does not do so, however, and it is doubtful if the writer, who seems to have some knowledge of Italian and some taste, read very far into Howard, or he would have seen his marked inferiority. The review ends rather chillingly:

We should not, indeed, on the whole, find any material fault with Mr Howard's translation, except that the other having been published before, it appears to be rather superfluous.

An amusing remark in the light of the superfluities to follow.

Scottish Review early established, although it did not go unquestioned. In *Notes and Queries* (5th ser., Vol. IX, 1878) a correspondent inquired: 'Was the Joseph Hall who published a translation of the Inferno in 1812, the well-known W.B. of that name?' but he gave no reason for his doubt, nor was there any answering note. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, has a copy of Bunsen's Inferno containing a slip of paper, undated, but almost certainly not much less than a century old, bearing some comments on Dante beginning with the words:

Start not readers, this is not the great Joseph lately defunct . . . the Senator was anything but a poet'.

but affording no other clue. The seal of authority was set on the wrong attribution by the D.N.B. in 1900, when it included 'a blank verse translation of Dante' among the Radical's works (without, however, any remark as to its quality). Paget Toynbee (D.N.B.) not unreasonably followed this lead, and from his bibliography the error found its way into others, being reproduced in a recent valuable addition to the subject in 1933, Friedrich's *Dante's Pass* abroad. Meantime, however, the editors of the D.N.B. had detected the mistake, which was corrected in the Supplement and subsequently in the 1938 reprint. The correction, owing to limitations imposed by an alteration to existing

JOSEPH HUME

Inferno: A Translation from Dante Alighieri into English blank verse by Joseph Hume Esq. London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand; by J. M'Creery, Black-Horse- Court. 1812. Foolscape octavo, pp. 373. English text, with brief argument at head of each canto and a few footnotes, pp. 1-373.

Joseph Hume (1767-1843) has so long and so often been wrongly identified with his more famous namesake, 'the Radical' (1777-1855), that before saying what is known of him, the confusion must be cleared up. The wrong attribution doubtless became early established, although it did not go unquestioned. In Notes and Queries (5th ser., Vol. IX, 1878) a correspondent inquired: 'Was the Joseph Hume who published a translation of the Inferno in 1812, the well-known M.P. of that name?' but he gave no reason for his doubt, nor was there any answering note. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, has a copy of Hume's Inferno containing a slip of paper, undated, but almost certainly not much less than a century old, bearing some comments on Dante beginning with the words:

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plates, is a trifle awkward; the paragraph relating to 'Another Joseph Hume' is inserted at the foot of a left-hand column, the name being in capitals and small capitals, and not in full capitals like main entries, and it is followed, at the top of the adjoining right-hand column, by a list of the writings of the first Joseph Hume; it is still, therefore, liable to be overlooked. At this point we quote the article concerned, which tells us pretty well all that is known of the actual translator, noting that, 'per ammenda', the translation now has an adjective applied to it.

Another Joseph Hume (1767-1843), a clerk at Somerset House, published in 1812 a bad blank-verse translation of Dante's *Inferno*, and in 1841 A Search into the Old Testament. At his residence, Montpelier House, Notting Hill, there met Lamb, Hazlitt, Godwin and other literary men. One of Hume's daughters was mother of Mrs Augusta Webster, the poetess, and another married Isaac Todhunter, the mathematician.

In 1910 a letter in the Westminster Gazette drew attention to the wrong attribution in Toynbee's book which had appeared in the previous year. In the next issue Toynbee acknowledged and agreed with the correction, mentioning that he had been misled by the article in the D.N.B. and had not consulted the supplement or the later edition. This correspondence did not escape the eye of that indefatigable Dantist, Arturo Farinelli, who records it in his Dante in Inghilterra, etc. (1922), but it has been pardonably overlooked by other subsequent writers who have accepted Toynbee's original attribution.

Before coming to the *Inferno*, we may deal briefly with Hume's other title to literary fame. The book, published when he was over seventy years of age, is described on the title page as:

A Search into the Old Testament in order to trace its claim of being the Depository of Divine Communications. By Joseph Hume, Translator into English blank verse of Dante's *Inferno*.

It will be observed that Hume set some store by his achievement of thirty years earlier, which was perhaps already being attributed to his better known namesake. The book is an odd mixture of fundamentalism and rationalism. Hume

discusses at great length the physical events of the creation; his arguments as to why light was created on the first day, and the sun and moon not till the fourth, show great ingenuity. As for his investigations into the ages of the patriarchs, and his efforts to explain away the discrepancies which a literal acceptance of the record in Genesis would involve, his logical gymnastics take one's breath away. On the other hand, his statement regarding the four originally separate traditions combined in the early chapters of Genesis is almost modern in its attitude, as is his unequivocal assertion that the story of the serpent tempting Eve to pluck the apple is an allegory, and not an historical account, of man's fall. His sympathetic treatment of the honest atheist is full of sweet reasonableness, while his attack on the mere theist is bitterly sarcastic. He is continually referring to 'Mr Bellamy's translation', which appears to smoothe away most of the difficulties of the Authorised Version, but nowhere does he tell us anything more about this desirable volume, although his 'Notice to the Reader' urges him to 'have his Bible at his elbow' while perusing the book. The Search is, in fact, just such another curiosity as Hume's Inferno, to which we now turn.

If the original article in the D.N.B. treated Hume's Inferno gently, as the weakness of a celebrated man, Paget Toynbee did not. In D.E.L. (p. 80) he says that 'it is probably the worst translation of any portion of Dante's works ever published', and he repeated this statement in the letter regarding Hume's identity in the Westminster Gazette. No defender of Hume, so far as one can find, has ever challenged the condemnation; and although there are one or two other versions which, as we shall see, might contend for the lowest place, probably no one would grudge it to Hume. Certainly, on whatever system translations are classified, this one would be in the bottom class. Hume's blank verse, for instance, is appalling, and indeed not worthy

of the name. The lines vary from eight to twelve syllables, and many defy scansion even of the most liberal kind, e.g. (I.22-4):

As he who wreck escapes and treads breathless
The shore, his danger distanc'd, turns gazing
At the terrific sea.

But the most baffling and exasperating feature of Hume's prosody is the way in which he divides his lines in the most impossible fashion; the following are examples typical of hundreds of others.

Why not
Ascend that mount delightful, chief and of
Ev'ry bliss the source? (I.77-8)

'Now mark: and, beyond fable, things
Will here astound thee.' Scarce ended he, than
Sounds around me issued, whence unknown. They
Cries express'd, as if of human suff'rings. (XIII.20-2)

Raising mine eyes, before them seem'd, and near,
Huge Tow'rs. 'What country this?' besought I from
My Bard. 'Thro' such obscurity, and thro'
A space so long, mis-sent all objects.' (His
Reply.) 'When nearer . . . ' (XXXI.19-24)

The punctuation is eccentric, and quotation marks are often omitted or misplaced. The revision of the proofs has evidently been careless, and some apparent errors are probably misprints, e.g. 'Down from the seventh cavern Minos hurls / Headlong the wicked' (XIII.96), where the sense obviously requires 'to'. Some of the frequent anacolutha and seemingly meaningless lines may be due to the same cause, as certainly is 'feign would I see him' (VIII.52).

Hume's cantos are on an average 20 to 30 lines shorter than Dante's. His most drastic cut is in canto XXIX where he gets 139 lines of the original into 97 of his own. This is not done by omitting any passage, but by leaving out words and phrases with frequent mutilation of the sense; for instance the Geri del Bello episode (lines 1-36) is compressed into 21

lines. Occasionally he expands: although he gets the 151 lines of canto XIII into 129, he uses 10 of them to render the first 6 of Dante's. He may have despaired of reproducing the succinctness of 'Non fronda verde', etc., but he evidently saw the possibilities of the passage:

It ap'd a wood
No stately stems finely irregular:
But trunks cross-wise and close, that baulk'd all paths;
Carbuncled clumps, with angled limbs, splinter'd,
Craggy, mimic of stone. The branches long,
Not taper, which, but for knots, would twist, as
Done by hand mechanic. Design'd for leaves
Were patches dry and dun: and as a fruit
Rank poison stuck, noxious to every sense.

Hume introduces a good many glosses, e.g. the 'gran rifiuto' of III.

59-60 becomes:

Of these one shade distinguish'd stood,
Who, when requir'd to rule, exalted task
And useful, thence shrunk cowardly away.

Like other readers, he felt dissatisfied with the closing lines of canto XVIII and expanded them to:

The victims of
Her former charms, with witching art she shew'd
That not their gifts profusive, but themselves
She valu'd, then gave them mock endearments.
This was a courtesan, and Thais she.

As to Hume's accuracy, he departs so far and so often from the text that it is difficult to know whether he has understood it or not; these departures are almost always for the worse, and make the translation a mere travesty. In some places he has obvious^{ly} misread the Italian. In I.48 he has 'the very wind, as in alarm, was still', having evidently mistaken 'ne' for a negative. II.88 has been telescoped into 'Alone should fear proceed from pow'r to do / Another harm', but perhaps a word has dropped out. In XV.10-12 Hume renders: 'But he, its architect inscrutable, / This concrete form'd, thicker and loftier far', a mistake also found in Howard. In canto

XXIII lines 65 and 90 Hume gratuitously adds the adjective 'cold' to the description of the hypocrites' cowls; Boyd and Howard, on the other hand, make them hot; evidently it was felt that mere weight was not sufficient punishment. The similes of XXI.25-8, 'Allor mi volsi come l'om cui tarda', and XXX.136-41, 'Qual è colui che suo danaggio sogna' proved a stumbling-block to many early translators, and Hume is particularly incoherent.

'Beware! beware!' sudden my Guide exclaim'd,
And ah! he said to him. I, with deep intent
Upon the nether scene, leering around,
Mov'd not awhile, like him stagnating fear
Arrests, when too the cause for flight not yet
Discernible.

Struck with shame
I silent stood. And as in dreams with shame
We would prolong them hoping better change,
So I kept silence long. At length, but how
Unknown, I made confession awkward yet
Complete.

Hume's inaccuracy reaches its climax in the last canto which is sheer chaos.
It begins:

Banners were in the distance waving high
'Look forward (said my Guide) th' Infernal King
Approaching.' Like a huge mill on ev'ning
Seen obscurely, or in black storm, onward
He strode.

Worse follows at line 55:

He ev'ry sinner seiz'd; and at
One crunch of his huge teeth, his bones were to
The least, like flax beneath an engine, mash'd!
Three by this triple-headed fiend I saw
At once tortur'd . . .

Hume's footnotes are brief, seldom illuminating, sometimes inaccurate, and occasionally amusing. To I.122 is appended his sole reference to Beatrice: 'the poet's mistress, his conductor in the Paradiso'. Under V.4 he regrets that Dante should have made use of heathen gods, like Minos, in his Inferno, adding: 'Indeed throughout the poem, Dante's agents add no

dignity to it.' There is an incomprehensible note under VI.85 (rendered, 'Their vices (he replied) greater, drove them / Lower'), stating: 'It is almost needless to remark, that as Dante was here relating facts of history subsequent to the period of this dialogue, Ciacco is prophetic.' Since this part of the dialogue refers to what was already past in 1300, one concludes that the footnote has been misplaced and should have been appended to the speech beginning at line 64. The footnote to VIII.61 runs:

Poor Philip Argenti! Man holding the sword of political justice does as much as he ought to do when he drives a criminal over the bourn of life. To pursue him afterward with the rancour with which Dante seems agitated, does not well suit with Christian principles.

To the footnote in canto XVI giving historical details of Aldobrandi, Rusticucci, etc., is added the remark: 'It is to be hoped that Dante had good authority for placing these men here.' Against XXIII.66 is a note: 'The Emperor Frederick II, who punished those who were convicted of High Treason, by casting them, wrapped in lead, into a furnace. Where is Frederick placed by Dante? In canto XIII, this wretch is praised!' Hume appears to have forgotten that he himself had answered this question in his note to X.119 which reads: 'Frederick (Emperor) II, who died 1250.' Dante is again rebuked in a note to XXI.39 for having 'feelings sometimes too nearly resembling these uttered by a devil'; and under XXV.4 for his 'exultations and ejaculations' over the fate of Vanni Fucci. In what appears to be a general statement at the beginning of the footnotes, the translator says:

The poet is supposed to have aimed at an allegory, which was to refer to his own conduct. But it would be difficult to prove its correctness: and if proved neither the poem nor the reader would probably receive much benefit.

The grammar and phraseology of these notes is typical of Hume's style, which still persists in his much later Search into the Old Testament.

There is scarcely a redeeming feature in Hume's performance. Here and

there one comes across a good line, or even terza, but this always turns out to be quite different from the original. His translation does not seem to have been reviewed in any contemporary journals, nor is it even mentioned in various articles comparing the merits of Boyd, Howard, Cary and Wright which appeared throughout the early part of the century. Probably the volume was printed at his own expense and had a limited circulation among his friends. In 1861 when a writer in the Westminster Review surveyed the progress of Dante translation in Britain from Boyd onwards, he omitted Hume and Howard altogether.

It is difficult to know why Hume undertook such a task. Nowhere in his notes does he express any commendation of Dante's manner or matter, though he frequently does the reverse. His acquaintance with the Comedy seems to be superficial in every respect, and he repeatedly spoils its best effects and most telling passages. Nor is there any explanation of his extraordinary prosody. One would certainly have expected better from the intimate of Lamb and Hazlitt; but a brief study of his other book, the Search, shows similar eccentricities of thought and expression. His Inferno can only be described as an unattractive curiosity.

Vol. 3. The Paradise. pp. xvi, 317, xviii. Introduction, pp. v-xvi; English text (style as earlier volumes), pp. 1-317; Index, pp. 1-xxvii.

Dante. Translated into English Verse, by J. G. Wright, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Third edition. Illustrated with engravings on steel after designs by Flaxman. London: Henry S. Bohn, 4 York Street, Covent Garden. MDCCCXIV. Crown octavo, pp. xxi+460. List of plates, pp. iii-iv; preface to the third edition, pp. v-vii; 'The Spirit of Dante', pp. xix-xli; extracts from Dante's prose works, pp. 7-xiii; Memoir of Dante, pp. xiv-xv; Introduction to the Inferno, pp. xvi-xviii; English text of Inferno, printed in terza, with argument at head of each canto and with footnotes (shorter than previous editions, but almost completely rewritten and with new additions), pp. 1-148; Introduction to the Purgatorio, pp. 149-51; English text of Purgatorio (style as Inferno), pp. 149-334; Introduction to the Paradiso, pp. 335-338; English text of Paradiso (style as preceding parts), pp. 338-626; Index, pp. 346-60. The

ICHABOD CHARLES WRIGHT

The Inferno of Dante, translated by Ichabod Charles Wright, M.A. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman; Nottingham: Wm. Dearden. 1833. Demy octavo, pp. xx, 437. Dedicated to Lord Brougham and Vaux. Introduction, pp. v-xix; errata, p. xx; English text, printed in terzine (half title to each canto with argument on verso), pp. 1-323; notes, pp. 325-437.

The Purgatorio of Dante, translated by Ichabod Charles Wright, M.A., Translator of the Inferno. Same publishers as Vol. I. 1836, pp. xi, 470. Uniform with the Inferno above. Dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Introduction, pp. i-xi; English text, pp. 1-325; notes, pp. 327-470.

The Paradiso of Dante, translated by Ichabod Charles Wright, M.A., Translator of the Inferno and Purgatorio. Same publishers, with name 'Rees' dropped from imprint. 1840, pp. xx, 459. Uniform with the earlier volumes. Dedicated to Lord Denman. Introduction, pp. v-xix; errata, p. xx; English text, pp. 1-327; notes, pp. 329-459.

Dante. Translated by Ichabod Charles Wright, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. A new edition, revised and corrected. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman. 1843. Foolsap octavo, 3 volumes.

Vol. 1. The Inferno. pp. xxxii, 306. Advertisement, p. v; Memoir of Dante, pp. vii-xxii; Introduction, pp. xxiii-xxxii; English text, printed in terzine, with argument at head, and notes (much abbreviated from first edition) at end of each canto, pp. 1-306.

Vol. 2. The Purgatorio. pp. xii, 319. Introduction, pp. v-vii; English text (style as Vol. 1), pp. 1-319.

Vol. 3. The Paradiso. pp. xvi, 317, xxvii. Introduction, pp. v-xvi; English text (style as earlier volumes), pp. 1-317; index, pp. i-xxvii.

Dante. Translated into English Verse, by I. C. Wright, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Third edition. Illustrated with engravings on steel after designs by Flaxman. London: Henry G. Bohn, 4 York Street, Covent Garden. MDCCCLIV. Crown octavo, pp. xxiv, 460. List of plates, pp. iii-iv; preface to the third edition, pp. v-vi; 'The Spirit of Dante', pp. xix vii-ix; extracts from Dante's prose works, pp. x-xiii; Memoir of Dante, pp. xiv-xx; Introduction to the Inferno, pp. xxi-xxiv; English text of Inferno, printed in terzine, with argument at head of each canto and with footnotes (shorter than previous editions, but almost completely rewritten and with some additions), pp. 1-142; Introduction to the Purgatorio, pp. 144-8; English text of Purgatorio (style as Inferno), pp. 149-294; Introduction to the Paradiso, pp. 295-302; English text of Paradiso (style as preceding parts), pp. 303-445; index, pp. 446-60. The

35 steel engravings are full page plates, printed one side only, not foliod, and inserted at their correct places in the text. This volume was in the series Bohn's Illustrated Library. There were numerous subsequent impressions; later ones bear the imprint of G. Bell & Sons; but all these were taken from the original plates. There has been no new edition, and the book has long been out of print, although second-hand copies are plentiful.

N.B. Except where otherwise stated, the extracts from Wright's translation in the following article and in Appendix I are from the third edition.

Ichabod Charles Wright (1795-1871) was born at Mapperly Hall, Nottinghamshire, being the son of the owner of a family banking business in Nottingham. He was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his B.A. in 1817 and his M.A. in 1820; from 1819 to 1825 he held a fellowship at Magdalen. In the latter year he married Theodosia Denman and became a partner and joint-manager of the family bank. Banking was his primary occupation for the remainder of his life; the extent of his knowledge of financial matters is evident from the fact that he published several books and pamphlets such as Thoughts on the Currency (1841), Evils of the Currency (1847) and The War and our Resources (1855). The second of these achieved some celebrity, and had reached its sixth edition by the time the last was published. In spite of his commercial interests Wright by no means neglected cultural studies. In 1853 he published a rhymed translation of Dante's Inferno, followed by the Purgatorio in 1836 and the Paradiso in 1840. A second revised edition in three volumes followed in 1845, and in 1854 the third edition, further revised, appeared in Bohn's Library. In 1859 Wright began to publish a blank verse translation of the Iliad, which reached Book XIV in 1864 but was not continued further. In 1861 Matthew Arnold had said of it in his essay 'On Translating Homer' that it 'had no proper reason for existing', a criticism which Wright resented and contested. As will be indicated in what follows, Wright, despite undoubted ability and versatility, possessed little real poetic

faculty; in attempting the Iliad he was entering a field where he had notable predecessors, and extracts from his translation seem to justify Arnold's remark.

Wright's version of Dante was printed just as the Italian usually is, continuously, indented in *terzina* form, the number of lines corresponding exactly with the original. The rhyme scheme, however, is *a b a c b c*, so that in effect it consists of a series of six-line stanzas with no rhyme linkage between them. It was thus only necessary to find two rhyming words instead of three in each sound, and also each group of six lines could be dealt with separately, without the complications caused by the link-rhyme. The only place where a triple rhyme had to be found was at the end of a canto containing an even number of *terzine*; in that case the terminal line rhymes with the middle lines of the two preceding groups of three. Where the number of *terzine* is odd the last four lines form a quatrain *a b a b*. At first sight there is a strong resemblance to the rhyme scheme of the *Comedy*; in each group of three lines the first and third rhyme, and each successive pair is linked by the middle rhymes. As often as not, where Dante runs his sentence through two complete *terzine*, these correspond with one of Wright's six-line stanzas; but in the other fifty per cent of cases, or in connected groups of more than two *terzine*, the complete break in the series of rhymes becomes noticeable, and gives the attentive reader a sense of incompleteness and dissatisfaction. Nowhere, however, in any of his prefaces did Wright make any reference to the metrical scheme which he adopted; this probably resulted in many readers assuming, without investigating the matter further, that his rhyme scheme corresponded to Dante's. It also caused some critics to hint at deliberate deception on the translator's part in trying to pass off a spurious article as genuine. It would certainly have been better if he had frankly

defended his choice; he must have been conscious of the desirability of some reference to so important a feature of the poem.

There is no accounting for the attitude of reviewers. When Wright's *Inferno* first appeared in 1833 the Athenaeum (March 1833, pp. 177-8), later so severe in its judgments on rhymed translations, gave him high praise:

We have followed Mr Wright through several passages line for line, and find him as exact as the most scrupulous admirers of the great Florentine could desire. . . . Mr Wright has not only adhered closely to the original, but has preserved its grandeur and force.

The Monthly Review (March 1833, pp. 428-9) was only slightly less complimentary:

It will be seen from the extracts that the translator is, at all events, pretty faithful to his original, and that in no material instance is the meaning of Dante ever obscured. The measure adopted seems to us well suited to the nature of the subject, and the whole is executed in a very animated spirit, and with great ease and simplicity of expression.

Neither of these two reviews made any detailed reference to the rhyme scheme, but the Edinburgh Review (July 1833, pp. 413 ff) commended its ingenuity, besides indicating that Wright's version was an improvement on Cary's, good as the latter was:

Mr Wright's superiority over his predecessors is greatly founded upon the fact of his having endeavoured to transfer the precise versification of his author together with the thoughts. . . . The motive of Mr Cary in deviating from the terza rima of Dante into blank verse was obvious. Mr Wright has very luckily solved the problem of the English terza rima. In preserving the triplet, he has secured the entire effect of an analogous versification; while, by throwing off one of the rhymes (which nobody will miss) he has made it possible to reproduce the sense and freedom of the original within an equal compass.

Reviewing Wright's *Paradiso* seven years later the Dublin University Magazine (November 1840, pp. 590-1) went considerably further; after bestowing moderate praise on the translation, the reviewer remarks:

The stanza in which Mr Wright writes is not that of Dante, or of the English terza rima. Indeed we think its general effect is better.

A very different note was sounded in the Quarterly Review (July 1833, pp. 449 ff) when it dealt with Wright's *Inferno*; not only Wright's ability, but

his honesty, are impugned in terms no less effective because of their urbanity. As literary criticism this article is hardly worth quoting, for it is merely a move in the war between the Quarterly and the Edinburgh, where the feature that determines their respective attitudes is one that is not mentioned at all - Wright's politics, which were actually well to the left in the controversies of the day. The two articles, written and published simultaneously, are an excellent example of just what the editors would stoop to, but indeed a minor issue of this kind offered an excellent battleground where they could vent their spleen without compromising their literary reputation. The Edinburgh had concluded its review with the words:

The merit of the execution will unite all competent judges in cordially entreating him to proceed.

The Quarterly, doubtless pretty certain of such a sentence being found in the rival magazine, began by refuting it:

The most cursory perusal of Mr Wright's *Inferno* will satisfy every one that, had there been no Cary, this work would have been a valuable addition to the English library. But with every disposition to encourage any gentleman in an elegant pursuit, it is our duty to ask, in how far, Cary's volumes being in every collection, it was worth Mr Wright's while to undertake a new version of Dante?

Then after continuing this kind of polite contempt through a few more sentences, designed to minimise Wright without directly denying his merits, the writer finds that

we shall be compelled, not to treat disrespectfully a well-meant and industrious effort, but to express our regret that the time and talents devoted to it had not found some unpreoccupied field - and to urge the propriety of suspending a labour which, if completed, could at best conduct to a secondary place.

Having undermined Wright's reputation the review proceeds to blacken his character by suggesting that his translation is a wholesale plagiarism of Cary's, to which end a great array of italicised words is used, but not a single concrete instance given, the conclusion being that 'Cary has been in the

main the Dante of Mr Wright . . . unless when guided by Ugo Foscolo, or by Rossetti'. Then follows a sarcastic attack on the metrical form - 'he has few triple rhymes at all - and none in the right places' - and the parting shot:

The result, then, is not an English Inferno in the measure of Dante, instead of the measure of Milton; but only the sense of Cary twisted out of blank verse into a new and anomalous variety of English rhyme.

A careful examination indicates that there is no substance whatever in the allegation that 'Cary has been in the main the Dante of Mr Wright'. There are certainly lines that are identical or almost so in both, e.g. Inf. III.9, 'All hope abandon ye who enter here', which may be deliberate (for many subsequent translators have avowedly appropriated Cary's line); or again, Inf. XXIV.51, 'As smoke in air or foam upon the wave' ('qual fummo in aere ed in acqua la schiuma'), a line that slips so easily from Italian into English that it will be found, with slight variations, in a score of different translations. Quite often also the same words are found in Cary and Wright, but after all they are working from the same original. On the whole the resemblances are decidedly less striking than those which exist between other translations where no borrowing could possibly have taken place; see, for instance, the remarks on this matter in the article on W. M. Rossetti. On the other hand there are a great many instances where Wright has used different readings or interpretations from those of Cary, in many cases better, in a few worse; this much is indeed somewhat grudgingly conceded in the Quarterly article.

At this point we may say something of the changes made by Wright in the successive editions of his translation, which may have a slight bearing on the matter. He was an indefatigable reviser, and the alterations to the text in both the second and third editions show that he had gone through the

whole poem very carefully. In particular the *Inferno* of the second edition contains nearly twenty-five per cent of new matter. This is largely due to the fact that in the first edition he had frequently repeated sets of rhyming syllables after an insufficient interval, in some cases in consecutive six-line units. His attention may have been called to this by the jibe of the Quarterly, for he had avoided this fault in the first editions of the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. Apart from this, however, he remodelled many stanzas in all three divisions of the poem, and in the 1854 edition there is a further series of minor changes. But throughout all these revisions there is no sign of an attempt to evade the charge of indebtedness to Cary, as we might have expected had the Quarterly's accusations been well-founded; on the contrary there are several changes which bring him nearer to Cary.

Even greater alterations were made in his introductory matter and his notes, all of which were almost completely rewritten for each successive edition. One of the objects of these changes was to condense the extent of the explanatory matter, partly no doubt in the interests of more economical production, especially for Bohn's Library; but Wright was not content with merely omitting or abbreviating his earlier notes; sometimes he remodels them entirely, and often he adds new ones. In the 1854 volume, having in mind the wider public which the popular edition was likely to reach, he inserted numerous short notes on points earlier taken for granted, not always happily - for instance, commenting on *Inf.* II.13 he writes:

Sylvius is another name for Aeneas (*Aen.* vi.768); whose father, Anchises, descended to the shades below, as described by Virgil.

The line he quotes, 'et qui te nomine reddet / Silvius Aeneas', is quite irrelevant, for it is obvious that by 'di Silvio il parente' Dante means Aeneas himself; but this error is exceptional, for Wright is generally well-informed in his classical references. He quotes from a large number of

authorities, showing that he had cast his net widely; he shows familiarity with a wide range of literature, and also with commentators on the Comedy both old and new.

Another feature of the changes made in Wright's comments is that the later editions are progressively less belligerent in their Protestantism; this may have been done on the advice of his publishers to avoid antagonising part of the public for whom the cheaper volumes were intended. References to the papacy, the Roman Catholic Church, Mariolatry, etc., disappear almost entirely from the revised notes. In the second edition there are still frequent side-thrusts, e.g. under Par. XXIX.133:

In these and the following lines, which show Dante to be any thing but a Papist, he alludes to Boniface VIII, whose pardons and indulgences he openly denounced,

but these have all gone by 1854. Similarly the tone of the introductory matter became much less aggressive. In the Introduction to the first edition of the Inferno we have:

. . . it may be gathered, as Ugo Foscolo justly points out, that Dante looked upon himself in the light of a person destined by heaven to effect a great change in the moral and political world; and had mankind been more enlightened, the doctrines he promulgated might, at the time, have produced that reformation which, at a later period, was effected by Luther.

In the first edition of Purgatorio he is even more emphatic:

As member, indeed, of the pure, primitive, universal, apostolic Church, from which the Romanists have apostasised, and to which we, as Protestants, continue to belong, Dante was a Catholic. - Yet though a Catholic in this, the true sense of the word, - so far from being a Papist, he was one of the greatest enemies the Popes ever had to encounter. . . . Hence the works of Dante were always regarded with extreme aversion by the Court of Rome.

After taxing the Roman authorities with having first tried to suppress Dante, then to disguise his meaning so as to claim him 'as a faithful son of the Church' by forcing commentators to 'conceal, mystify, and distort', he concludes by enumerating some of Dante's anti-papal pronouncements:

These are a few of the undisguised declarations contained in a poem, the object of which has, by an extraordinary exercise of priestcraft, been obscured for the space of five hundred years.

Wright did not abandon his Protestant standpoint in the later editions, but his championship is much less militant.

We have already remarked on the advantages and disadvantages of Wright's rhyme scheme. The latter must be held to preponderate. The artificial division of the poem into a series of six-line stanzas, unconnected by the rhyme, does violence to the structure of the original, and cannot long keep up the illusion that it reproduces the *terzine* of Dante. The fact that alternate pairs of *terzine* are linked emphasises this division, and breaks up the continuity even more than does the omission of the middle rhyme altogether as in some later versions. It is true that since the exigencies of rhyme are less pressing in Wright's system than in full *terza rima*, his version reads more smoothly than do some of his successors; but this likewise proves a disadvantage, for it encourages a fatal fluency that fails to do justice to the salient features of Dante's style. In judging Wright's achievement, therefore, we must remember that the total effect is considerably impaired by the stanzaic arrangement and, as it were, mentally deduct marks for cheating.

Whatever we may think of Cayley's good or bad taste in criticising his predecessors by way of introduction to his own translation, he had a knack of hitting the nail on the head. His remarks are quoted on page 3 of the relevant article; in appraising Wright, not only does he very neatly expose the 'counterfeit' prosody, but he lays his finger on the other fundamental weakness of the earlier version when he speaks of its 'boarding-school or family-Shakespeare etiquette'. Doubtless Wright felt justified in toning down such things as the descriptions of the mutilations in *Inf. XXVIII* and the references to *Pasiphaë* in *Purg. XXVI*. He may likewise have considered

that his 'Let him wince who feels himself reproved' was an elegant improvement on 'e lascia pur grattar dov'è la rogna' (Par. XVII.129). But his failure or unwillingness to render the vigour of Dante's expressions goes far deeper than the avoidance of what he may have thought to be occasional crudities. Again and again he substitutes some vapid commonplace or pompous cliché for Dante's direct forcefulness. A few examples are quoted below, but a list could be culled from every canto.

Surely I know that countenance full well
(Già di veder costui non son digiuno) (Inf. XVIII.42)

Then had his cogent arguments full sway
(Allor mi pinser li argomenti gravi) (Inf. XXVII.106)

God only knows how such a thing could be
(com' esser può, quei sa che sì governa) (Inf. XXVIII.126)

Then with a more appropriate form I might
Endow my vast conceptions
(io premerei di mio concetto il suco
più pienamente) (Inf. XXXII.4-5)

But what remains is under my control
(ma io farò dell'altro altro governo) (Purg. V.108)

In envy's full blown sighs they ever end
(invidia move il mantaco a' sospiri) (Purg. EV.51)

While step and song in mutual concert met
(e moto a moto e canto a canto colse) (Par. XII.6)

Her look bore not the accustomed smile divine
(E quella non ridea) (Par. XXI.4)

Breaks through the enchaining slumber of the night
(allo splendor che va di gonna in gonna) (Par. XXVI.72)

Wright had evidently read a great deal of poetry, for he is constantly echoing the words and manner of earlier writers, sometimes deliberately, oftener perhaps subconsciously, and seldom discriminatingly. His version is therefore very much a thing 'of shreds and patches'; it neither catches Dante's style nor has it a style of its own. The wrongness of the tone repeatedly strikes one, and when Wright does hit on an effective phrase he

generally uses it in the wrong place, e.g. his borrowed plumage is rather obvious when he renders the simple 'se fossi morto' of Purg. XI.104 by 'whether . . . thou shuffle off thy mortal coil'. Mixed with such poetic reminiscences are lines of sheer flat prose on a conversational level. Dante apostrophises Virgil as 'Or living man, or melancholy ghost' (= 'od ombra od omo certo', Inf. I.66), and grandiose phraseology of this kind is common. The fiends on the walls of Dis inquire 'who is this, that . . . / Stalks through the dusky regions of the dead' (Inf. VIII.84-5); the words of Statius in Purg. XXI.97-9 are quite unrecognisable, because Wright has thought on a good line which he wants to work in:

I mean the Aeneid - that fond nurse who fed
My soul with poetry, and rapture pure,
Waving the wreath of glory round my head.

In Par. V.16-7 Beatrice 'poured along / The holy strain in smooth unbroken course' ('continuò così 'l processo santo'); in Par. XII.51 'The setting sun his ample forehead laves' (= 'lo sol tal volta ad ogni uom si nasconde'). The lily is frequently painted, as in Inf. XX.75 where 'e fassi fiume giù per verdi paschi' becomes 'The limpid streams through verdant meadows glide'; while in Inf. XXI.68-9 'il poverello / che di subito chiede ove s'arresta' is changed to a stock figure, 'one of squalid looks / Who begs a pittance at some rich man's door'. A ludicrous result of these adornments is to be found in the last line of Inf. XXI, 'ed elli avea del cul fatto trombetta', which Wright transmutes to 'When from behind, the sound of trumpet burst'. In another vein, which anticipates Swinburne at his worst, he renders 'più senta il bene, e così la doglienza' (Inf. VI.108) 'to thrill with pleasure, or to throb with pain'. At the other extreme we get such banalities as Par. VIII.46-51:

To different results one death gave birth: -
God was well pleased, - well pleased the Jews too were:
The Heaven was opened - tremblings shook the earth.
Then ever be prepared with this solution,
Whene'er 'tis said, a just revenge hath been
Visited by a righteous retribution.

Or such weakening and loss of effect as Par. XX.94-9:

Heaven's kingdom suffereth violence - by love
And lively hope assailed - whose ardency
Hath power the will of the Most High to move:
Not by the mode that man his fellow sways,
But because God is willing to be swayed,
And rules but by the kindness he displays.

As might be expected Wright has a sprinkling of savourless archaisms, usually for the sake of the rhyme, and we find 'I ween', 'eyne', 'hight', 'dight', etc., strewn throughout.

Wright has not many direct mistranslations. As already indicated, he had an advantage over Cary in the availability of improved readings and commentaries; he corrects quite a few of Cary's mistakes, although he perpetuates others, and even makes a few new ones of his own; e.g. in Par. XXIV. 26-7, which Cary had rendered adequately, he reverses the meaning: 'still less / May words essay to paint such colours bright'. In the more involved passages he is often at sea, but this may be due to the difficulty of working the meaning into verse rather than to ^dmisunderstanding of the text: a glance at such passages as the explanation of the sun on the left (Purg. IV), that of the spots on the moon (Par. II), or the catechism on Faith (Par. XXIV) will show that they are very woolly, particularly the second where the rare and dense tend to get mixed up. Much worse, however, is the pervading inaccuracy resulting from Wright's quest for smoothness and elegance. We have already seen cases of wrong tone and false emphasis; other examples will readily be found in the passages in Appendix I.

There are some redeeming passages in Wright. He manages the Farinata

Ichabod Charles Wright (13)

episode well, e.g. (Inf. X.34-6):

Already on his face my eyesight fell;
And he upreared his forehead and his breast,
As if he felt supreme contempt for Hell.

Dante's dream in Purg. IX is quite good, e.g. (lines 28-30):

Then, having wheeled around in many a spire,
He swooped like lightning, terrible to trace,
And bore me upward to the sphere of fire.

The central cantos of Purgatorio, from XI to XIX provide some examples
of tolerable passages, e.g. Purg. XIV.109-11:

The dames, the knights, the labour and the ease
That wooed us on to love and courtesy,
Where rancorous envy now all hearts doth seize.

Here too we find two successful attempts at embellishment in the lines

'Left as a sample of the mighty dead' (Purg. XVI.135) and 'Who charm the
wandering sailor on the sea' (Purg. XIX.20). The Cacciaguida cantos also
contain good passages, e.g. (Par XVII.106-20):

'Sire,' I began, 'I mark how time for me
Prepares a blow that heaviest falls on those
Who look for it with most despondency:
Therefore with foresight let me arm my breast,
That if I lose the place I cherish most,
The boldness of my verse lose not the rest.
Down in the world of endless misery,
And on the mountain, from whose beauteous coast
The eyes of Beatrice exalted me; -
And as through heaven I passed from sphere to sphere,
That did I learn, which, were I to disclose,
To many would of bitter taste appear.
But if the truth I timidly unfold,
I fear to die in the esteem of those
To whom the present time will soon be old.

Wright's translation, though popular in its day, has not survived the
test of time like Cary's. At its best it is smooth, pleasant, flowing,
easily read, but it lacks both fidelity and individuality. This is mainly
due to Wright's poetic limitations; preoccupied with Dante as a prophet and
a reformer, he probably did not realise the literary value of the Comedy;

a disciple of the Augustans so far as his own tongue was concerned, he followed a convention rather than a tradition. Yet his achievement, considering that he had little to fall back on in the way of predecessors, and remembering his other activities, was a very creditable one. His industry, especially the energy with which he carried out the task of revision, commands admiration. His translation must have been effectual in its day in making Dante known to many; and his pioneer work in making a rhymed version probably encouraged other translators to persevere with terza rima. Moreover, in all fairness to Wright it must be said that, if he touched few heights, he maintains a respectable level, and seldom descends into the abysmal depths of bathos and distortion touched by too many of our rhyming translators.

JOHN DAYMAN

The Inferno of Dante Alighieri, translated in the terza rima of the original with notes and appendix by John Dayman, M.A., Rector of Skelton, Cumberland, and late fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: William Edward Painter, 342, Strand, 1843. Demy twelvemo, pp. vi, 281. Preface, pp. iii-vi; English text (brief arguments at head of each canto), pp. 1-223; notes, pp. 225-81.

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, translated in terza rima by John Dayman, M.A., Rector of Skelton, Cumberland, and formerly fellow of C.C.C. Oxford. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1865. Demy octavo, pp. xxx, 771. Page v carries a dedication: 'To all who speak and love the languages of Italy and England this version in terza rima of the Divina Commedia of Dante is respectfully dedicated by the translator.' Preface, pp. vii-xxi; detailed contents, pp. xxiii-xxviii; errata, p. xxix; Italian and English texts on facing pages, each canto prefaced by a brief argument in both languages, with numerous brief footnotes, pp. 1-771.

John Dayman (1802-71) was the eldest son of John Dayman of St. Columb, Cornwall. He was admitted to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1819, graduated B.A. in 1823 and M.A. in 1826; he had been elected a Fellow in 1825, and remained in Oxford till 1831, when he was presented to the College living of Skelton, which he held till his death. His Inferno, published in 1843, was the first English version of a complete cantica in terza rima; by the time he completed the Comedy, however, complete terza rima versions by Cayley and Mrs Ramsay had been published, also the first two parts of Thomas's, and Infernos by Brooksbank and Ford.

Dayman's Inferno of 1843 was preceded by a very short preface, in which he mentions that, on the advice of friends, he has withheld 'some remarks on metrical structure' which he had intended to make, and also 'a few criticisms on Dante's great poem, viewed as indicating the character of the times in which he lived'. The only remark he makes as to his system of translation is that since Dante has on a few occasions permitted himself to use the same rhyme twice in the same canto, 'this licence has been taken,

though sparingly, in the following version.' He then makes the following disclaimer:

In justice to myself, no less than others, I have rightly abstained from making any acquaintance with the English translations which have preceded this; and hence the candid reader will refer whatever coincidences he may discover to our common original.

In the much longer preface to the 1865 volume the deficiencies mentioned above are supplied. After saying briefly and well something about Dante's poetic qualities, he goes on to justify the use of terza rima, remarking that when his *Inferno* was published its rhyme was 'denounced as the one "deleterious ingredient" which corrupted the version throughout, and as placing it on this very principle in disadvantageous contrast to Mr Cary's'. Beginning with a quotation from Schlegel, and producing instances from classical and later poetry by way of illustration, Dayman first argues that the 'organic' form of a work of art is an essential part of it; and thence that Dante's terza rima is an indispensable element in the ~~literary~~ 'ternary' structure of the Comedy. He concludes by noticing the 'distinctness of vision', the 'bold and striking individuality which stamps the characters', the 'unvarnished homeliness' and the 'satirical' element, which he finds to be among Dante's most important characteristics. After stating that the Italian text is generally that of Brunetti, and repeating his disclaimer about having abstained from making any acquaintance with other English versions, he defines Dante's religious position (with a side-thrust at the theories of the elder Rossetti) as that of 'a conservative church reformer', and in his last paragraph mentions very briefly the chief events of Dante's life.

Two of the matters raised in the prefaces may be dealt with before going further. Dayman is indeed careful not to repeat his rhymes too often; in many cantos he avoids repetition entirely. His anxiety to do so has

probably militated against his success; while it is doubtless undesirable to repeat the same set of rhyming sounds within a few lines, the difficulties of finding suitable triple rhymes in English without doing violence either to sense or style are so great, that to increase them by such a 'self-denying ordinance' may well be Quixotic.

As to Dayman's claim that he has abstained from making acquaintance with the work of his predecessors, there seems to be no valid reason for doubting his assertion. Indeed the point need not have been raised, were it not for the remarks of Ichabod Charles Wright placed on record by Toynbee (D.E.L. p. 680 n.) and thence copied by other writers. These remarks were not published, but written in the margins of a copy of Dayman's *Inferno* belonging to Wright. They include such expressions as 'my word', 'my rhyme', 'my line', 'suspicious', 'most suspicious'; while against the preface he notes: 'Pretends ignorance of my translation, though it had been published ten years, - reviewed in almost all the reviews - and quoted in numerous works.' He refers to Dayman's work as 'a burlesque upon Dante: rhyme without either sense or poetry, a mere verbal translation'. These peevish remarks are indicative rather of Wright's pettiness than of Dayman's duplicity. A careful examination suggests that the accusations are quite groundless. It must be remembered that Wright took no steps to make them public, and his notes were perhaps just a way of 'letting off steam'; he may well have been smarting from the equally unjust charges of wholesale plagiarism made against him earlier.

Both Dayman's volumes were well received by the reviewers. The Spectator (19th August 1843) thought his extreme literalness 'not only fair, but useful, as bringing the translation closer to the text', and concluded;

Altogether Dayman gives the English reader a better idea of Dante, his matter and manner, than any previous translator. . . . Upon the whole, if Cary's version is the more even composition as a piece of English

writing, and less chargeable with incorrectness that additional pains might have removed from the other, Dayman conveys to the English reader a more spirited copy of the poet's images and a more vivid representation of his manner.

The Athenaeum (March 1844, pp. 267-8) found Dayman a worthy successor of Cary and Wright:

. . . a sincere, earnest, and laborious effort; sufficiently learned and accurate, with the additional advantage of its being in the measure of the original, properly written, and with careful attention to the striking movement of the ternal line, in which consists, in fact, the musical beauty of Dante's verse.

The same paper (3rd February 1866, pp. 170-1), reviewing Dayman's complete Comedy, said that it possessed 'many beauties of style which still improve upon acquaintance'. A less favourable view of the Inferno was taken by the Westminster Review (January 1861, pp. 201 ff) when it surveyed the progress of English versions of Dante from Cary onwards:

Mr Dayman, in his translation of the Inferno, has followed Dante's system of verse, and has produced a work, not very literal, but very easy and natural in manner, and, on the whole, decidedly good. He fails, however, very often in detail, and misses both the sense and the spirit of the Italian.

In June 1867 (pp. 736 ff) Blackwood's Magazine published a long article on 'Dante in English terza rima', which reviews the work of Ford, Brooksbank, Mrs Ramsay, J. W. Thomas, Cayley and Dayman, and, after finding that the two latter are (incomparably the best terza-rima translators of the Divine Comedy), goes on to demonstrate the distinct superiority of Dayman, and, apart from a few criticisms, is lavish in its eulogy and admiration. Numerous passages are quoted or mentioned as worthy of high praise; two of the shorter of these are quoted below, together with the remarks which accompany them.

Through me the path to city named of Wail;
Through me the path to woe without remove;
Through me the path to dammed souls in bale!
Justice inclined my Maker from above;
I am by virtue of the Might Divine,
The Supreme Wisdom, and the Primal Love.

Created birth none antedates to mine,
Save endless things, and endless I endure:
Ye that are entering - all hope resign. (Inf. III.1-9)

Stroke follows stroke with all Dante's precision, deepening, by their very monotony of repetition, the impression on the hearer's soul.

'Twas now the hour the longing heart that bends
In voyagers, and meltingly doth sway,
Who bade farewell at morn to gentle friends;
And wounds the pilgrim newly bound his way
With poignant love, to hear some distant bell
That seems to mourn the dying of the day;
When I began to slight the sounds that fell
Upon mine ear, one risen soul to view,
Whose beckoning hand our audience would compel.
It joined both palms together and upthrew,
The fixed eyes eastward bent, as though it said
To God, 'With other I have nought to do.'
Thee ere the light fail from the lips was sped
In tones so dulcet, so devoutly sung,
As me from out myself entrancing led;
And ~~xx~~ with as dulcet and devout a tongue
Followed the rest through all that hymn complete,
Their eyes upon these orbs supernal hung. (Purg. VIII.1-18)

This version conveys nearly as much as any version can of that enchanting sense of repose which these two passages (Purg. VIII.73-84 was also quoted) breathe in the original.

Had the first of these two passages been quoted as an example of Dayman at his worst, it would have been readily accepted as such by most readers to-day; it is sheer doggerel, and cannot be put alongside Cary, let alone Dante. The second passage, however, is definitely Dayman at his best; indeed it is a favourable example of the highest achievement of the mid-nineteenth-century terza-rima translators, and of the possibilities and limitations of their medium and method. The writer of the article in Blackwood's is significantly subdued on the subject of Dayman's *Paradiso*, speaking of it only in general terms, and offering no specimens.

The verdict of posterity has been heavily against Dayman; only small editions of the two volumes were published, and neither was ever reprinted. Only about half a dozen copies of the 1865 volume have been located in Britain,

and only one of these is available on loan. The most we can say in its praise is that it is just a little better than the others in terza rima which preceded and followed it, except for a very few *terzine* which are really strikingly good and will be quoted later. To this extent only is it entitled to the place given it by the writer in Blackwood's. Dayman may well have appreciated the poetic value of his original, but he fails for the most part to convey any notion of these qualities into English; and he also obscures Dante's direct vigour by the shifts and turns into which he is driven in the endeavour to preserve his rhyming system. He is also quite unable to preserve the ternary structure of which he makes so much; over-running of *terzine* is very frequent, so that two or more detached syllables often occur at the beginning or end of lines belonging to the last or next *terzina*. Although he is less profuse in his archaisms than Cayley, his work is sprinkled throughout with such words as 'ween', 'wot', 'meseems', 'bespake' (very frequent), 'hight', etc., with quite a few even more recondite words like 'arèd' (e.g. 'teacher well-arèd' = 'persona accorta', Inf. III.13), 'hoise' ('our limbs 'gan upward hoise', Purg. XV.37), 'devoir', 'chode', 'mansionry', and such a desperate rhyming expedient as 'to support my smile unshent' for 'a sostener lo riso mio' in Par. XXIII.48. He is very fond of forms like 'upcome', 'upthrust', 'uprush', 'upround', 'upspring', etc., mostly to help the rhyme. Often he puts a written accent on a word to denote an unfamiliar pronunciation, such as 'sùccessor', 'sùpreme', 'spiritual'. Although his rhymes are good on the whole, he resorts from time to time to such jarring ones as 'chosen - closing', 'sighing - lie in'.

The passages given in Appendix I are fairly representative. The opening of Ulysses' speech (Inf. XXVI.91) shows the length to which he will go to get a rhyme, and the phrase 'that hid me as my grave' is paralleled by another in

Inf. IX.16-18 where the same necessity has produced similarly grotesque results:

Came ever one to this profounder cave
Of the sad shell, from that first-entered room,
Whose only curse, to be for hope a grave?

The cliché 'faithful few' and the word 'chieftain' make havoc of lines 101-2 of the Ulysses passage; Marocco has got in the wrong place in line 104; the terzine that succeed are mostly awkward, and in line 117 Dayman has gone a step beyond the many translations which locate the unpopled world behind the sun by making it 'hide' there. What remains is not much better; it is hard to say whether 'morning's eye', 'watery bed' or 'ocean's breast' jars most, and 'glutted sea' is a most infelicitous conclusion.

Examples of awkwardness and obscurity, usually due to the exigencies of rhyme and metre, abound; a few are given below. It is difficult to see how some of these could be understood without knowing the Italian; the English grammar of others is very doubtful.

And I beheld, and lo! a pennon borne
In reckless whirl careering: seemed, it found
No spot so vile, whereon it might sojourn.
And, lengthening after, such the rout went round
Of souls, I hardly might my thought persuade
That half their number death had ever bound. (Inf. III.52-7)

And I could tell how - but for arrowy sleet
Of native flames shot hence - it more became
Thyself than these with eagerness to meet. (Inf. XVI.16-19)

When now we reached where hollowed arch it hath
Below, for passage to each whip-galled sprite;
'Halt there, and let those other sons of wrath' -
My leader said - 'with fronting visage smite
Thine eyes, whose favour, while their way they took
Collateral with ours, eluded sight.' (Inf. XVIII.73-8)

Of Peter hold I them, who bade ward ill,
When souls abased themselves my feet before,
Rather by opening than by closing still. (Purg. IX.127-9)

And know, the fault that bandies back her cast,
In strict opponency to other sin,
Dries with it here, until her green be past. (Purg. XXII.49-51)

And in his writings as thou'lt find them shown,
Such were they here, save in the wings they gained,
Where John departs from him, and is mine own. (Purg. XXIX.103-5)

Lost Cleopatra yet hath cause to mourn
Those deeds, preferring (while she fled before)
The aspic's fell and sudden death to scorn. (Par. VI.76-8)

(In this last example it takes a moment to see that 'scorn' is a noun; Cleopatra's 'preference' is not in the Italian, and doubtless is due to a recollection of Shakespeare's play.)

Contingency, that hath not means to rove
Beyond the tablet which your matter squares,
Is all in the everlasting sight above
Pictured; yet nought of necessary shares
From that, more than from eyesight which hath glassed
A ship the rapid current downward bears. (Par. XVII.34-9)

Never from highest tract where thunders sound
Is mortal eye so distant, howsoe'er
The sea down which 'tis plunged be most profound,
As was from Beatrice my vision there;
Yet not affected, for her image fell
On me, no mean commingling to impair. (Par. XXXI.73-8)

f/ (It is doubtful if the first *terzina* has been understood; the second defies interpretation until one sees the original, '*chè sua effige / Non discendeva a me per mezzo mista*'.)

Even more depressing is the frequency with which Dayman spoils a passage by using the wrong word or phrase; the opening of Par. XX is an outstanding example.

When he whose radiance all the world illumines
Beneath our hemisphere declines, and fading
In every part the day to twilight glooms,
The sky first lit by him, none other aiding,
Glowes in a moment on the sight, new-fraught
With many lights, and in them one pervading;
And this celestial change came to my thought
Soon as that ensign's blessed beak was hushed,
Neath which the world and all its leaders fought;
Since all those living lustres, while they flushed
More brilliant yet, prelusive warblings quired,
That gliding all too fleet for memory gushed.

A dire contrast when we place the last lines against '*cominciaron canti / Da mia memoria labili e caduci*'. But Dayman seldom seizes the opportunities that Paradise affords; a little later in the same canto lines 73-5 become:

As lark that trilling first in aëry space
Careers; then with his last mellifluous close
Sated contents him silent on his place.

The lines (Par. XXXIII.85-96) describing the final vision are inept:

That saw I harbour in its inmost deep
Bound in one volume (love the cords supplies)
Which spreads through all the universe to sweep;
Substance, and accident, and properties
Of both, all fused together by such law,
That what I tell One simple light doth rise.
The universal form methinks I saw
Of that cohesion whence, while this is spoke,
I feel me larger draught of joy to draw.
One moment deals me more lethargic stroke
Than five and twenty ages that endeavour
Whence Argo's shadow Neptune's wonder woke.

Nor does Dayman succeed better with Manfred (Purg. III.121-3):

Horrible sins were mine; but wide to fill
Are boundless mercy's arms, whose surplusage
Whate'er returns to her, embraceth still.

In other places we are startled by effects that are distinctly foreign to the original, e.g. 'No culture tamed it, and no dweller graced' (Inf. XX.84), which is the language of Pope; or 'What thought have you two lonely musers shared?' (Purg. XXIV.133) which comes strangely from one of Dante's angels. There are ill-chosen words like 'tumultuous sound exploding' to describe Guido da Montefeltro's flame in Inf. XXVII.5-6; Dante 'glues' his eyes on Beatrice in Par. I.66 and elsewhere; in Par. I.95 we learn of the 'brief words her smile had syllabled' (rhymed with 'quelled - held'); while five lines later she 'heaves a saintly sigh'. Other effects are merely ludicrous, like Inf. XVIII.70-2:

We mounted this with airy step and fast,
And, tripping toward our right the splintered path,
Thus onward from those ambient circles past.

In Inf. XIX.46 Dante addresses Pope Nicholas: 'O thou that dost thine upwards downwards shift'; in Inf. XXIX.3 he is so much overcome 'that e'en

to linger there and weep had charms'. Very odd too is Statius' request in Purg. XXII.99 after naming some of the Roman poets: 'Say if condemned, and in what street residing.'

Although Dayman often departs considerably from the precise sense of the original, at other times he is painfully literal, which accounts for his being blamed for faults 'in strict opponency' to each other. He often uses the etymological equivalent of the Italian word when its connotation in English is different; 'admire' and 'prevent' are often abused in this way, doubtless due to Biblical influence. In Purg. XXVII.85-7:

Such in that hour all three of us lay strown,
As I a goat and they had goatherds been,
This side the chasm and that in bundle thrown,

he has allowed the literal associations of 'fasciati' to rob him of the sense. In Purg. III.15 he refers to the hill 'whose overflow doth heavenward higher strive' in an effort to bring out the sense of 'più alto si dislaga'. In Purg. XVII.6 we have 'languidly debilitated rays' reflecting the 'debilemente' of the original; in Purg. XVIII.57 'primi appetibili' becomes 'first appetibles'. There are also unnecessary Latinisations; 'revelment of her shape inhibited' for 'non la lasciasse parer manifesta' in Purg. XXX.69 is by no means 'latino' in Dante's sense.

Now and again, however, Dayman gives us a few really good lines; majestic gloom appears to suit him. The following are well above his own general level and that of contemporary translators.

'Henceforth he wakes no more,' the master said,
'Until the angelic trumpet burst the gloom;
When He shall come, the Avenging Power they dread,
These shall revisit each his joyless tomb,
Put on his flesh and form, and hear the sound
That thunders through eternity his doom.' (Inf. VI.94-9)

Then seemed that in a few more circles' play
Down like the lightning terrible he came
And bore me to the fiery sphere away.

There seemed that he and I were both in flame,
And so the imagined conflagration burned,
Needs were my slumbers broken . . . (Purg. IX.28-33)

As shall the blessed in the final doom,
The soul's new garments that so lightly cling
Uplifting, each prompt from his hollow tomb
Arise, did on that heavenly litter spring
A hundred, at so mighty elder's tongue,
Ministrant heralds endless life to bring. (Purg. XXX.13-18)

Ye in eternal day your vigil keep;
No step along his ways the age doth make
Is ever stolen from you by night or sleep;
Whence my reply for yonder mourner's sake
Hath greater care, how he may comprehend,
That fault and sorrow may one measure make. (Purg. XXX.103-8)

Dayman's Arnault Daniel, like Cayley's, speaks Chaucerian English:

'Of your curteis demaund swiche grace I borwe', but his Cacciaguida uses the ordinary literary idiom. Dayman also sprinkles a lot of unnecessary italics throughout to emphasise certain words; these have not been indicated in these extracts. Another feature, which has also been omitted, is an apostrophe inserted, without omission of a letter, after words like 'the' to denote elision or glide. Dayman has, with characteristic thoroughness, made a workmanlike reproduction of the acrostic in Purg. XII.

In general Dayman is accurate, and seems to have studied and understood his text adequately. He has corrected some of the inferior readings and erroneous interpretations which occur in Cary and Wright, and the revision of his *Inferno* in the 1865 edition shows improvements on the earlier form. Here and there however there are mistakes evidently due to lack of comprehension. His rendering of 'Quando ti gioverà dicere: Io fui' (*Inf.* XVI.84) misses the point, for it reads: 'When to proclaim 'Twas I, shall please thee well', although he has a note mentioning Tasso's imitation of this passage, and also comparing it to the lines on Crispin's Day in Shakespeare's Henry V. In *Inf.* XXXI.77 he renders 'per lo cui mal coto'

by 'counting ill the cost', and a little later in line 139 'che stava a bada' becomes 'who stood aloof'. Bocca's 'se mille fiata in sul capo mi tomi' (Inf. XXXII.102) is oddly transformed to 'If thousand times thou hale me upside down', obviously absurd in the circumstances; and, as in so many other translations, the significance of Dante's promise to Alberigo in Inf. XXXIII.116-7 is spoiled: 'and if to extricate / I fail, the deepest icepit be my wage.' Purg. XII.68 reads 'Who sees the truth, no better sees than I', where failure to observe the tense obscures the sense; the same error was made by so able a Dante scholar as Butler (see ad loc.). In Purg. XXXIII.97-9 the rendering

And if the smoke is evidence of fire,
The same oblivion plainly may declare
The fault was other bent of thy desire

fails to catch the meaning of 'conchiude / colpa nella tua voglia altrove attenta'. The sense of 'servando mio solco / dinanzi all'^{ac}aqua che ritorna eguale' (Par. II.14-15) similarly vanishes in 'if my furrow's line ye keep / Through waves that equal rise and sink again'. In the simile of the Veronica (Par. XXXI.106) Dayman slips, again in company with several others, by translating 'fin che si mostra' by 'until 'tis seen unrolled'.

Failure to grasp some practical metaphors is evident. Thus Purg. XVII.87, 'qui si ribatte il mal ~~tradato~~ remo' is rendered 'The oar ill-slackened, stripes must here assault', through a misunderstanding of 'si ribatte'. Purg. XXI.25-7 becomes rather awkwardly:

But since who spinneth day and night her thread
From him the distaff never yet withdrew,
By Clotho turned on each and duly fed . . .

where the operation denoted by 'avea tratta ancora la conocchia' is misinterpreted. In the same way the rendering of Par. III.9⁴~~4~~-6:

So I alike with word and action sped
To learn of her what kind of web she spun,
And failed to draw the shuttle to its head,

confuses the spinning and weaving processes. A number of Dayman's versions

which seem at first sight to be mistranslations may be misprints, of which there are too many. Although the errata list (itself not free from error) contains 32 entries, these by no means cover all the mistakes. A further cause of confusion is the erratic line numbering which in many cantos is a line wrong and has to be watched when quoting.

Dayman's notes are adequate and, though mainly brief and factual, contain occasional references to matters of interpretation which show that he had a good knowledge of Dante criticism and background literature; his classical references and quotations are well chosen, and he can even quote Hebrew on occasion. If some of his information is out of date or doubtful, that is due rather to the progress of research than any deficiency in his scholarship. His obvious anti-papal bias is not allowed to obtrude itself unduly, and he wisely omits matters of theological controversy almost entirely, confining himself to the use of the adjective 'Romish' for things Roman Catholic, and to one or two side-thrusts, e.g. against 'Con le due stole nel beato chiostro / son le due luci' (Par. XXV.127-8) he notes: 'Christ, and (according to Romish tradition) the Virgin'; while on 'la Regina del cielo' in Par. XXXI.100 he comments: 'So the Virgin Mary is styled by her Romish worshippers'.

The words of the Athenaeum reviewer, 'a sincere, earnest, and laborious effort; sufficiently learned and accurate . . . ', if we cut them off at that point, are probably as just an epitaph as could be devised for Dayman's translation; although it is fair to add that in his occasional better passages he reaches as high a standard as many subsequent translators have done.

THOMAS WILLIAM PARSONS

The first ten cantos of the Inferno of Dante Alighieri newly translated into English Verse. Boston: William D. Ticknor, MDCCCXLIII. Demy octavo, pp. 8, 83. Poem, 'On a bust of Dante', pp. 5-6; description of the Inferno of Dante, p. 8; English text of Inf. I-X, printed in quatrains with first and third lines indented, short headings to cantos, and short footnotes, pp. 1-67; Notes, pp. 69-72; 'A Word more with the Reader', pp. 73-83; at end of this article appear the date, Boston, July 1843, and the translator's name, T. W. Parsons. A portrait of Dante in line faces the poem on p. 5.

The First Canticle (Inferno) of the Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated by Thomas William Parsons. Boston: De Vries, Ibarra and Company. MDCCCLXVII. Demy octavo, pp. 216. Apart from the title page, with a portrait facing it, and the dedication 'To Anna Parsons and Augusta Barnard', the book contains only the English text of Inferno, printed in quatrains with second, third and fourth lines equally indented, but without notes, arguments or other explanatory matter, pp. 1-216.

The Ante-Purgatorio of Dante Alighieri. Translated by T. W. Parsons. London: Hatchards, Piccadilly. 1876. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., pp. vi, 62. Introductory note, pp. v-vi; English text of Purgatorio I-VIII with footnotes, printed in quatrains with second and fourth lines indented, and with headings to speeches, 'Virgil', 'Cato', etc., pp. 1-62.

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated into English Verse by Thomas William Parsons. With a Preface by Charles Eliot Norton and a Memorial Sketch by Louisa Imogen Guiney. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1893. Crown octavo, pp. xix, 353. Preface, pp. v-ix; Memorial Sketch, pp. xi-xix; English text (details below), printed continuously, with paragraph divisions, but without arguments or notes of any kind, pp. 3-353.

Note. - The portions of the Divine Comedy included in this volume are:

Inferno, complete

Purgatorio, cantos I-XXII, XXIV, XXV.118-39, XXVI.1-40, XXVII, XXVIII.34-110, XXX, XXXI.1-90, XXXIII.1-33 and 64-135

Paradiso, cantos I.1-36, III.109-23, V.73-8, XI.43-83

Unless otherwise stated, extracts in this article and in Appendix I are taken from the 1893 edition.

Thomas William Parsons (1819-92) was, like so many other American Dantists, a New Englander. His father was an immigrant from Britain, who had graduated in medicine at Harvard, and practised as a doctor and dentist in Boston, where Thomas was born. The boy attended the Boston Latin School, and though

he left without taking a degree he was excellently grounded in the classics as is evidenced by his writings and by his occasional Latin verse. With his father he visited Europe in 1836-7, spending some time in Florence; on his return to America he studied medicine at Harvard, but did not complete the course. He was styled Dr Parsons, however, and practised medicine and dentistry at Boston, like his father. He was back in Italy for a year in 1847; paid a long visit to London in 1871-2; and from that time till his death devoted himself mainly to literature.

From his first visit to Florence when, at the age of seventeen, he began to memorise the Divine Comedy, to the end of his life Parsons found his main interest in Dante. He published a few small volumes of verse, one of them, The Shadow of the Obelisk, appearing in London during his residence there in 1872. His poetry is now more or less forgotten, except for the well-known 'On a bust of Dante', prefixed to his first translation in 1843; a contemporary critic called it the 'peer of any modern lyric in our tongue', but it has been variously estimated since. His first published translation of the Divine Comedy contained cantos I to X of the Inferno, rendered in quatrains of ten-syllabled lines rhymed a b a b (i.e. the Gray's Elegy stanza). He said that he had first tried terza rima, but had given it up finding that 'the more exactly the measure of Dante was imitated, the ruder the verse'. Among the friendly critics of his earliest volume was Andrews Norton, father of the future translator, who recalls, in his preface to the 1893 volume, listening to their discussions as a youth of seventeen. Parsons was a notoriously slow worker; nothing further appeared till 1865, when he made a spurt and published a version of Inf. I-XVII in the same metre, with considerable revisions to cantos I-X. In 1867 he completed and published the whole Inferno. Three years later he

began to publish the Purgatorio, canto by canto, in The Catholic World; these instalments continued up till 1862, when the second cantica was still incomplete. The first eight cantos were privately printed and issued as The Ante-Purgatorio in 1876. Regarding the metre used in the Purgatorio something will be said later. All the cantos already published, together with some fragments of others, including four very short extracts from the Paradiso, were collected in the volume issued under the auspices of Norton in 1893 after Parsons' death.

Parsons was, as we have seen, friendly with the Nortons when he was a young man; in later years he enjoyed also the friendship of Longfellow, Lowell and Holmes, and retained that of the younger Norton; he was also a valued member of the Cambridge Dante Society from the date of its formation. In spite of this, however, Parsons held aloof to some extent from the other New England literati; he was never, so to speak, one of the 'Brahmins'. Kenneth MacKenzie, writing in the Dictionary of American Biography, speaks of him as 'reserved, sensitive and deeply religious', and quotes a remark by T. B. Aldrich that Parsons 'carried his solitude with him into the street'. Louise Imogen Guiney, herself a poetess of ability and an occasional translator of Dante, has much to say in the memorial sketch prefixed to the 1893 edition of Parsons' extreme sensitiveness, carried one might think to affectation, and making him such a slow worker.

He worked with so real a religiousness that haste, or expediency, or compulsion never was allowed to touch him; merely a little passing mundane cloud, intruding on the medieval peace of his green-bowered desk at Wayland or Scituate, made him throw down his pen for the day.

In his preface of 1843 Parsons himself wrote:

If the iron Alighieri himself confessed that his sacred song had made him lean, through many years, it may be acknowledged that, for ordinary faculties, simply to transmute the precious ore into a merchantable

shape were no insignificant work. To render him properly requires, in short, somewhat of Dante's own moods; it needs time and toil. Fasting and solitude might not be amiss.

At the end of the 1867 volume he placed the colophon, 'Tantus labor non sit cassus', and Miss Guiney tells us that as he revised and polished the manuscript of his draft translation he would mark the sign of the cross on each 'baptised page', and sometimes also the doleful rubric, 'Vae mihi! dies parum efficax'.

Parsons was a zealous Anglican, and in his 1843 preface was aggressively Protestant. He had mellowed by 1870, when his first contribution to The Catholic World was published, but he felt that his position might seem ambiguous, and the tolerant editor allowed him to write an explanatory note which contained the sentences:

The Romish doctrine of Purgatory may be combated as an article of faith, but it must be admitted as a true statement of the condition of mankind religiously considered. The wretched state of man living without God in the world, the self conviction of sin, the possibility of attaining through contrition and penance to the peace which passeth understanding, is the sum of the doctrine embodied in the Divina Commedia.

A very full account of Parsons' work, and of American judgments on it, is to be found on pages 76-89 of Dr La Piana's Dante's American Pilgrimage, which has been of great help in compiling the present article. There is also a recent publication, Letters of Thomas William Parsons (Boston, 1940), edited by Zoltan Haraszti, and containing an essay on the subject's character and achievement by Austin Warren.

Perhaps the most interesting comment on Parsons is the short portrait of him as 'the Poet' in Longfellow's Tales of a Wayside Inn (1863):

A Poet, too, was there, whose verse
Was tender, musical, and terse;
The inspiration, the delight,
The gleam, the glory, the swift flight,
Of thoughts so sudden, that they seem
The revelations of a dream.

All these were his; but with them came
No envy of another's fame;
He did not find his sleep less sweet
For music in some neighbouring street,
Nor rustling hear in every breeze
The laurels of Miltiades.
Honour and blessings on his head
While living, good report when dead,
Who, not too eager for renown,
Accepts, but does not clutch, the crown!

It was Parsons' original aim to make the Divine Comedy into what he called a 'popular' English poem; that is, he intended that it should be readable as poetry, and reflect rather than transliterate the original. Andrews Norton persuaded him to modify this aim, by keeping closer to the letter of Dante. Haraszti expresses the opinion that Parsons would have done better not to accept this advice, since the revised edition of the first ten cantos, in spite of increased accuracy, is markedly inferior to the first version as poetry while 'the second half of the completed translation is altogether below the level of the first'. Norton in the 1893 preface expressed an altogether contrary opinion. He says that when the complete Inferno was published Parsons

. . . had greatly revised his original essay, and a comparison of the cantos printed in 1843 with the same cantos as they appeared in the volume of 1867 is interesting as a study of style, and of experiments in translation. The scheme of verse is not changed, but everywhere a firmer hand is felt and a more perfected art is manifest.

These contradictory points of view arise from differing outlooks as to the function of translation. Haraszti is avowedly in sympathy with Parsons' original intention, whereas Norton, by training and inclination, desired above all things that Dante's words and manner should be closely followed. At the close of the preface he says:

There are many parts in which the translation reaches so high a level of natural poetry that the reader may readily forget that the English poet is following an Italian model. But the student of Dante's own

verse feels throughout that the style and tone are the translator's, not Dante's. . . . The difference is not a mere difference between Italian and English: it is a difference of essence, a difference in poetic nature; a difference, as I have said, of style and tone.

In the final edition of Parsons' remains there appears to be a compromise between the two styles. For instance, Inf. III.77-8,

quando noi fermerem li nostri passi
su la trista riviera d'Acheronte,

was originally rendered in 1843 as

Soon as we slack awhile our painful pace
On the sad margin of old Acheron.

Under the influence of the literalists this was changed in 1867 to:

Soon as we stay our footsteps for a space
Beside the dismal strand of Acheron,

but in 1893 the first version was almost entirely restored:

Soon as we slack awhile our painful pace
On the sad marge of ancient Acheron.

Parsons said in 1843 that after various experiments, which included the defective terza rima with middle line unrhymed, later used by Fletcher and T. W. Ramsey, he decided on 'the stately and solemn quatrain, the stanza of Gray and Dryden' as the most suitable vehicle. The decision was partly due to innate conservatism; he felt that the poetry of the past 'already had possession of the English ear', and he looked to the Augustans and their predecessors for his models. His quatrain, however, is neither that of the Elegy nor of Annus Mirabilis; to find Parsons' true poetic ancestor we must go further back, for his manner is more akin to that of the plainer Elizabethans or Jacobean, and in reading him one is reminded of Samuel Daniel and the quatrains of Cleopatra. Here is the opening of Inf. II:

Day was departing, and the dusky light
Freed earthly creatures from their labor's load;
I alone girt me to sustain the fight,
(A strife no less with pity than my road),

Which memory now shall paint in truth's own hue:
O Muse, O soaring genius, help me here!
O mind, recording all that met my view!
Here shall thy native nobleness appear.

From the very beginning Parsons' four-line stanza was in perpetual conflict with the *terzine* which he was translating. In spite of his desire to make the *Inferno* into an English poem, Parsons was far too conscious of the quality of his original to try to do so by padding out three lines of Italian to four of English, as one critic has alleged. Indeed he tends to compress; most of his cantos contain fewer lines than the original; very often, as in the example above, he gets nine lines of Italian into two quatrains. But in many cases he could not, without doing violence to Dante, take any course save to render three lines of Italian by three of English. If by bad luck these three lines are the last of one quatrain and the first of the next, they lack completely the binding link of rhyme, which in a consistently rhymed version has a disjointing effect, e.g.

(Inf. XIV.28-30):

O'er all the sand slow fell a burning rain;
Wide-floating flakes of fire, resembling snow
Among the Alpa, when hushed is every flaw,

or (Inf. XXVII.46-8):

Verruchio's mastiffs, that Montagna found
Such cruel keepers, both the sire and son,
Still, where they wont, their fangs for augers wield.

Moreover the ending of a canto may be very awkward. For instance in the very first of the *Inferno* Parsons finds himself with four lines of Italian remaining and five lines of English needed to make even quatrains, so he inserts a whole line of padding between 133 and 134 of the original, which is printed in parentheses, '(Whatever worse remaineth to be told)', having already rendered '*questo male e peggio*' by 'this misery and more' in the preceding line. At the end of canto V on the other hand, he reaches the

end of Francesca's speech in the middle of a quatrain, and has to compress the remaining four lines of Italian into two and a bit:

'That day we read no farther on.' She stopped;
Meanwhile he moaned so much, compassion took
My sense away, and like a corse I dropped.

The same difficulties are evident in the earlier cantos of the Purgatorio. The *terzina*, I.115-7, which certainly calls for the unity conferred by the rhyme of the first and third lines, being divided between two stanzas is rhymeless:

Now day's white light had quelled the morning's red
Which fled before it, so that from afar
I recognised the trembling of the main.

At the end of canto II he had to compress the last ten lines of the Italian into eight of English. At the end of canto III, which was going to be two lines too long, he adopted for the first time a new expedient by departing from his normal rhyme scheme: the canto ends with fourteen lines which include two triple rhymes thus, a b a b a c b d c d e f e f. In canto IV he twice expands a quatrain to six lines rhymed a b a b a b. By canto V the introduction of variations is fully established, and throughout the remainder of the Purgatorio continuous quatrains are the exception rather than the rule. We find many passages rhymed after the fashion a b a b c b c d e d e d f g f g f h, and in other places the simple continuation of a quatrain before introducing the new rhyme, a b a b a b. In a few places genuine *terza rima* is reproduced and kept up for a few *terzine*. The longest such passage is at the conclusion of Purg. XX:

Like those old shepherds who first heard that lay
We stood immovable and in suspense,
Till the cry ceased, the trembling died away.
Then did our holy journey recommence,
Viewing the shades to their accustomed wail
Turning, and grovelling in their penitence.

Never did ignorance my mind assail
With such a battle of desire to learn,
(Unless herein my recollection fail)
As seemed to make the soul within me yearn.
I dared not slack our speed by asking aught,
Nor of myself the cause could I discern:
So timidly I went, and full of thought.

The other pieces of terza rima are shorter and some may have arisen accidentally; usually the rhyme scheme in Purgatorio is quite irregular. There are quite a few unrhymed lines, the presence of which is doubtless due to inadequate revision. Of the four fragments from the Paradiso, the first, as already mentioned, is in 'defective terza rima', and the other three are mainly in quatrains, but in two places variations similar to those in the Purgatorio occur.

The extent to which Parsons diverged from his original metrical scheme seems to have been unnoticed or unrecorded by critics. Toynbee in Dante Studies (1921) describes all the translation, with the exception of Par. I.1-36, as being in rhymed quatrains. But W. E. Gladstone may not have been so wide of the mark after all when (as recorded in Haraszti's edition of the letters) he wrote to Parsons, acknowledging a copy of the Ante-Purgatorio, 'I am glad you do not despair of or abandon the terza rima'. The remark has been taken as suggesting that the learned statesman did not examine the volume with much care, but although there is no instance of regular terza rima in these eight cantos, there is sufficient interlacing of the rhymes to convey the impression of some such scheme.

Parsons makes use of a good variety of rhyming words, including some disyllabic ones, and not confining himself to the commoner sounds; but as the work advanced he seems to have been less careful. He is sometimes content with a set of rhymes like 'orisons - conditions - o'erruns'; as already mentioned he sometimes leaves a line entirely unrhymed; and he

often repeats the same set of rhyming sounds with only a short interval. Here again his quatrains complicate matters; for example, in Inf. VI he wanted 'tomb' for the end of line 97, rhyming with 'the pealing of the eternal doom', which is quite a good rendering of line 99; since, however, the lines formed respectively the last of one quatrain and the first two of the next, he had to bring in 'shall rend earth's womb' in line 95 and add the words 'through the gloom' to line 101, so that the same sound runs through two consecutive quatrains.

As a rule Parsons keeps his vocabulary simple and vivid, avoiding long Latin words, though he has occasional lapses like 'the sacerdotal sign' inserted as a piece of padding to make a rhyme in Inf. VII.39; or 'the sin that all / The whole world occupies' for 'il mal che tutto il mondo occupa' (Purg. XX.8) where probably familiarity with the classical meaning of 'occupare' rather than failure to understand the meaning caused him to use an etymological equivalent where it is unsuitable. Nor does he entirely avoid clichés. In the very first canto, Inf. I.37, 'adamantine cars' is a doubtful exchange for 'quelle cose belle'; but a great deal worse is the rendering of Purg. XXVII.22-4:

Remember thee! Remember'st thou what one
Upbore thee safely, when with bated breath
Thou clungst to me when we on Geryon rode?

We also get lines out of character, like 'No sorrow paled their cheeks nor gladness flushed' for 'sembianza avean nè trista nè lieta' (Inf. IV.84) which we owe to Parsons' eighteenth century allegiance. There is occasional weakening, e.g. 'Arguments like these / Pushed me to where some answer seemed advised' instead of the powerful 'Allor mi pin^ser li argomenti gravi . . . ' of the original (Inf. XXVII.106), or 'I knew my dreams false, but their truth observed', where 'io riconobbi i miei non falsi errore'

(Purg. XV.117) demands something more ingenious. Sometimes there is real clumsiness, as in Purg. XXI.31-3, expanded to four lines of which all but the first are very weak:

Hence from the ample gullet I was drawn
Of Hell to show unto this living man
The things of this place, and shall guide him on
To show him more things, far as my school can.

There are some very bad enjambements, e.g. the following (Purg. IV.27-9), which are the last line of one quatrain and the first of the next:

Here one should fly! I mean he needs the light
Pinions and plumage of a strong desire.

Bad also is 'We were quite / Sure those dear souls our way's direction heard' (Purg. XIV.127-8). A case of disastrous padding occurs in the closing lines of the siren's speech (Purg. XIX.19-24) where the two tercine are expanded to eight lines:

I'm the sweet Siren, I am she who can
Misguide the mariners in the middle main;
So full of pleasaunce is my voice to hear!
I turned Ulysses with the notes I pour,
From his vague wanderings; and whoso gives ear,
To grow familiar, seldom giveth o'er
Delight in following one so wholly dear:
Who learns to love me, leaves me nevermore.

There are one or two short lines (e.g. Purg. II.32 quoted in Appendix I) which may be misprints or due to lack of revision.

On the other hand, Parsons can write some very strong lines. 'Full oft thy praise will I enforce on high' (Inf. II.74) is a happy use of a semi-archaism; 'Whence gathered groans in ceaseless thunders rung' (Inf. IV.9) commands attention; 'That I'm bagged here as I bagged money there' (Inf. XIX.72) is effective, though unusually colloquial for Parsons; Purg. XXX.92-3 has a magnificent ring:

Listening their chant whose notes for evermore
Repeat the rhythm of Heaven's eternal spheres.

In fact, it is one of Parsons' great merits that now and again he produces something which is partly original and yet wholly Dantesque in its tone. Thus in *Inf.* XIX.115-7 he gets in just a little more than is in the original, but the addition is in character:

Ah, Constantine! to how much ill gave birth
Not thy conversion, but that dower by thee
Given the first Pope whose treasure was of earth!

Other ingenious renderings are: 'Thine is cold flattery in this waste of Hell' (*Inf.* XXXII.96); 'o'er us / The mountain shadow grows, and hides my own' (*Purg.* VI.50-1); 'And, cheated so, runs for the shining flower' (= 'quivi s'inganna, e dietro ad esso corre', *Purg.* XVI.92); 'Consent's doorkeeper, standing on the sill' (*Purg.* XVIII.63); 'Lack land he may, but shall not lack disgrace' (*Purg.* XX.76); 'White as a man borne to his burial-bed' (*Purg.* XXVII.15, though probably not what Dante meant to convey here); and the exceedingly neat way in which Dante's tone is caught in the rendering of 'di levar li occhi suoi mi fece dono' (*Purg.* XXVIII.63) by 'like a gift she threw / On me her lifted eyes'.

It is almost equally easy to make a collection of pearls or of husks from Parsons. On the whole the later portions are more unequal than the earlier; the *Purgatorio*, in spite of its good single lines, contains many pedestrian cantos, and fewer satisfying sustained passages than the *Inferno*. One or two short extracts are given to illustrate Parsons' best.

Hereat I raised my face, and cried aloud:
'O upstart race! the sudden growth of gain
Hath bred such inequality in thee,
Such pride, O Florence! well mayst thou complain.'
Receiving which for answer, all the three
Looked at each other with such conscious eyes
As men who hear truth told, then answered thus:
'O happy thou, might always thy replies
Cost thee no more than this free speech to us!
And shouldst thou ever from this dismal air
Return to view the lovely stars again,
When thou shalt say with pleasure, "I was there",
Recall our names, and speak of us to men.'

(*Inf.* XVI.73-85)

In the year's infant season, when the sun
Tempers his tresses 'neath Aquarius' reign,
And towards the equinox the long nights run;
When the frost copies on the glittering plain
The pure white image of her sister snow,
Though her light writing soon is thawed away,
The peasant then, whose wintry stock is low,
Starts forth and looks about him in dismay;
And, seeing everywhere the whitened ground,
Smites on his thigh, returning to his cot,
And wanders here and there, complaining round,
Poor wretch! unknowing how to mend his lot.
Then sallying out again, his hope revives
To see how soon the world has changed its face,
And catching up his crook, his flock he drives
To their old pasture with a cheerful face.

(Inf. XXIV.1-15)

The natural thirst that never is allayed
Save by that water, grace whereof to taste
The lowly woman of Samaria prayed,
Troubled me now; and vexed me to the haste
Wherewith o'er that packed shelf my way I made
Behind my Leader, pitying that just doom:
And lo! as Luke describes how Christ once showed
When freshly risen from the sepulchral gloom
Unto those two disciples on the road,
So, coming after us appeared a shade,
Eyeing the crowd amid whose forms he trod;
Nor took we note of him until he said:
'My brothers, be with you the peace of God!'

(Purg. XXI.1-13)

The concluding cantos of the Purgatorio, which are among the last that Parsons wrote and are far from complete, contain an irritating mixture of good and bad. We have already quoted from them one or two instances of the latter. One of the most uneven is Purg. XXVII, where line 54, 'dicendo: Li occhi suoi già veder parmi' is rendered 'Saying: Her eyes! methinks I see those eyes', which might have been written for a modern crooner. Yet the canto contains some noble passages, and the same is true of canto XXX, some of the best lines from which are quoted below (21-39):

I have, ere now, at day's beginning seen
Heaven's orient part all of one roseate hue,
And all the rest a beautiful blue serene;
And the sun's face at sunrise from the view
Shaded by vapor, through whose misty screen
His tempered beams the eye long time sustained;

Thus, underneath a falling cloud of flowers,
Which from those angels' hands each moment rained
Into the chariot and around in showers,
Wreathed, over a white veil, with olive crown
Appeared a woman in a mantle green,
And living flame the colour of her gown.
My heart then, which so many a year had been
Free from that former trembling when I saw
Her presence once, that violent surprise
Which overwhelmed me so with love and awe,
Now, without further knowledge of mine eyes,
Through some hid virtue that from her went out,
Felt all the might of that first passion rise!

Very various opinions were expressed by critics regarding Parsons' achievements; a full selection of these is given in the section of Dr La Piana's book already referred to. In Britain the Athenaeum was unenthusiastic. Reviewing the 1843 volume in the same article as Dayman's *Inferno* (23rd March 1844, pp. 267-8) the critic averred that although Parsons had 'justified himself as a poet in his own right' his version was not so good as Dayman's. The same periodical was even less encouraging when the complete *Inferno* appeared; after quoting *Inf. III.1-9* the reviewer (~~18th May~~ 22nd Feb'y. 1868, pp. 286-7) thought that 'readers will not want to read any more'. Charles Eliot Norton, dealing with the same edition in the North American Review (Vol. 102, 1866, pp. 509 ff) said much the same as he did in his preface to the 1893 volume already quoted: 'The Divine Comedy in Parsons' translation remains at least a poem; but its tone is not that of Dante's poem; its merits are its own.' But, as we have seen, even when he is not translating literally, Parsons can preserve the Dantesque touch, and he deserves credit for the conception of a version which should be truly poetical in the midst of the succession of tortuous translations in alleged terza rima. That conception, as we shall see, was to bear further fruit. Heraszi is probably right in thinking that Parsons, in yielding to some extent to the views of the Boston scholars, fell between two stools, and made a compromise which left both his aims unsatisfied.

JOHN AITKEN CARLYLE

Dante's Divine Comedy: The Inferno. A Literal Prose Translation, with the text of the original collated from the best editions, and explanatory notes. By John A. Carlyle, M.D. London: Chapman and Hall, 186 Strand. MDCCCXLIX. Royal twelvemo (8 x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.), pp. xlvi, 432. Preface, dated Chelsea, December 1848, pp. v-xii; Manuscripts and Editions, pp. xii-xxiii; Comments and Translations, pp. xxiv-xxxviii; 'The Inferno of Dante' (brief sketch of the position and form of Dante's Hell and his journey through it), pp. xxxix-xlvi; text of Inferno, English in upper part of page, Italian in centre, and notes at foot; each canto has a half-title with a detailed argument, pp. 1-422; index of proper names, pp. 425-32.

A second edition, with some revisions and corrections, was issued by the same publishers and in the same format in 1867. Both editions contained the same number of pages, but in the new printed catalogue of the British Museum the first edition is erroneously described as 'xlvi, 472'.

Third edition, identical with the above except for the insertion of an additional leaf in the prelims to carry prefaces to second and third editions, making xlviii instead of xlvi pages, published by G. Bell and Sons, 1882, in the Bohn's Library series; there have been several subsequent impressions of this edition.

The Inferno of Dante Alighieri. Published by J. M. Dent and Sons, 1900, in the Temple Classics. Pott octavo, 398 pages. Frequently reprinted; type reset for the seventeenth edition in 1932, making 402 pages; further reprints in 1937, 1941, 1946.

N.B. Carlyle's name does not appear on the cover or title page or in the prelims of this edition, but it is explained in a General Editorial Note at end of book, by Israel Gollancz, editor of the series, that the translation and arguments are Carlyle's, revised and corrected by Hermann Oelsner, by permission of G. Bell and Sons; and that completely new notes have been supplied by Oelsner. At the end of the book are two short appendices, 'Note on Dante's Hell' and 'The Chronology of the Inferno', both by Philip Henry Wicksteed. The extent and nature of Oelsner's revision is dealt with in the following article.

John Aitken Carlyle (1801-79) was born at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, being six years younger than his more famous brother Thomas, although the latter outlived him by nearly two years. John was both assisted and influenced by Thomas, and shared some of his literary enthusiasms. After taking his M.D. at Edinburgh in 1825, John went to London, but was unsuccessful there so far as medicine was concerned, although he managed to get some literary articles

published in Fraser's Magazine and other periodicals. In 1831 an appointment as travelling physician to the Countess of Clare enabled him to reach financial independence, as well as to visit Italy, from which time his interest in Dante began. Later he held for several years a similar appointment with the Duke of Buccleuch. From about 1844, however, he seems to have occupied himself entirely in study and literary work. He had earlier interested his brother Thomas in Dante, and in due course The Hero as Poet appeared, being first given as a popular lecture in 1840, and published in Heroes and Hero Worship in 1841.

A series of extracts from Carlyle's original preface will afford both an indication of the aim and scope of his work and the history of its conception.

The object of the following Prose Translation is to give the real meaning of Dante as literally and briefly as possible. No single particle has been wittingly left unrepresented in it, for which any equivalent could be discovered; and the few words that have been added are marked in *Italics*. English readers, it is hoped, will here find a closer, and therefore, with all its defects, a warmer version than any that has hitherto been published for them.

The Italian text, carefully collated from the best editions, is printed beneath, in order to justify and support the Translation, which is perhaps too literal for standing alone. . . . New Arguments or explanatory introductions, intended to diminish the number and burden of indispensable notes, are prefixed to the Cantos. The Notes themselves are either original, or taken directly, and in no case without accurate reference, from the best Italian commentators and historians; and, above all, from Dante's own works, wherever any thing appropriate could be met with. . . .

Now this simple statement will sufficiently shew that the present undertaking is upon a plan quite different from that of the other English translations; and therefore enters into no competition with them, and requires no apology. I am persuaded that all who know any thing of the manifold significance of the Original, or of its old and recent history, will be glad to see another faithful effort made to bring the true meaning of it nearer to English readers. . . .

In the year 1831, being called to Italy by other duties, I first studied the *Divina Commedia*, under guidance of the most noted literary Dilettanti of Rome and other places. I heard them read it with wondrous gestures and declamation, and talk of it in the usual superlatives; I learnt by heart the stories of Francesca, Ugolino, etc., and could speak very fluently about them. But, as a whole, it took little serious hold of me at that time. The long, burdensome, incoherent jumble of contending notes in the Paduan edition of 1822 - recommended as the best - had helped to darken and perplex every part of it that required any comment.

During the seven years which followed, I often studied it again, at leisure hours, along with the other works of Dante; and got intimately acquainted with various Italians of different ranks, who, without making any pretensions to literature, or troubling themselves with conflicting commentaries, knew all the best passages, and would recite them in a plain, sober, quiet tone - now rapid, now slow, but always with real warmth - like people who felt the meaning, and were sure of its effect. To them the Divina Commedia had become a kind of Bible, and given expression and expansion to what was highest in their minds. The difference between them and the Dilettanti seemed infinite, and was all the more impressive from the gradual way in which it had been remarked.

. . . Having thus acquired a clearer idea of the Poem, and got fairly beneath the thick encumbrances of Dilettantism and other encumbrances, which hide its meaning, I began to be convinced that the quantity of commentary, necessary to make the substance and texture of it intelligible, might be compressed into a much smaller space than had been anticipated; and this conviction was confirmed by a minuter examination of the most celebrated modern commentators, such as Venturi, Lombardi, Biagioli, etc., from whom those notes in the Paduan edition, above mentioned, are chiefly taken. A practical commentator, whose main desire is to say nothing superfluous, has got to study them all in the way of duty; and then feels it to be an equally clear duty to pass over the greater part of what they have written in perfect silence.

Carlyle says he had originally thought of publishing a correct edition of the original text with English arguments and notes, but on the advice of 'the best authorities' he decided to add a literal prose translation and to 'send forth this first volume by way of experiment'. Repeating these last words in the preface to the second edition in 1867, he says that 'the experiment has been successful in the best sense', also that 'the greater part of the Purgatorio had been translated when the Inferno was first sent forth', and that he has been urged to complete the whole. 'Other occupations have hitherto stood in the way', but he concludes with the hope that he will soon 'send forth' the two remaining volumes. Although he lived twelve years longer, the hope was not fulfilled, nor has the manuscript of the Purgatorio come to light. It has been suggested that one of the reasons that deterred Carlyle from proceeding with his translation was the publication of a complete prose version of the Comedy by O'Donnell in 1852, but this seems unlikely. It did

not require a Carlyle to recognise in the Irish priest's rendering a shoddy piece of botchwork; every reviewer who handled it realised its inferiority. More probably he held off mainly because his experiment, however 'successful in the best sense', did not make much headway with the public, as the long interval between the first and second editions shows; by the time he wrote the preface to the second edition he was nearer seventy than sixty, and his promises, doubtless made in good faith, might well have been qualified, 'purche 'l voler non possa non ricida'. In the preface to his *Purgatorio* in 1880, Arthur John Butler explained that he had begun with the second cantica because Carlyle's 'admirable prose translation' of the first was already in existence, and in a footnote he said:

I ought to mention that, in reply to an inquiry of mine, Dr Carlyle very kindly informed me that he had no intention of proceeding any further with his Translation.

Carlyle's *Inferno* is one of the most valuable and influential translations ever published in English. Apart from its conscientious accuracy, his attitude towards his task is important, an attitude in which we can see perhaps a reflection of his brother's ideas; but it might be equally true to put it down to the ingrained capacity of the Scot for distinguishing between the real elements of genius and its tinsel accompaniments. The Carlyle idiom might at times be a strange one, might even be described by reviewers as 'a heap of clotted nonsense', but The Hero as Poet gave its readers far more of the essence of Dante than all the voluminous outpourings of the Lombardis and Biagiolis. The attitude is indeed well summed up in Thomas Carlyle's essay, Characteristics, and it was the same clear-sighted, if sometimes awkwardly expressed, notion of a mission to interpret the works of genius from within rather than from without that actuated the younger Carlyle. His concern for a direct approach to Dante led him to preface his translation with an account

of the most important manuscripts, editions and commentaries, a most valuable addition at a time when precise information was not readily accessible, and many ill-supported readings were current in contemporary reprints of the text.

Carlyle's translation was well received by the reviewers, although almost all of them included a pleasantry on the Carlyle mannerisms. Many years later, in 1861, the article in the Westminster Review already referred to, surveying English versions of Dante up to date, repeated the pleasantry with more of a sting in it. For Cayley's estimate, to which the reviewer refers, see the extract from his preface on page 3 of the appropriate essay. The paragraph on Carlyle in the Westminster runs:

Mr Carlyle's translation of the Inferno is a work too of ~~the~~ very rare merit, though we are inclined to acquiesce in Mr Cayley's estimate of it, as reminding the reader, in its manner of expression, less of Dante than of the author's celebrated brother. The introductory preface, in particular, is open to this criticism, and conveys, so far, an erroneous impression about the nature and object of the poem. The scholarship is first-rate throughout, and the translation so scrupulously literal, that those who have only the very slightest knowledge of Italian may enjoy by its assistance the treat of reading the original.

Doubtless the Carlylean strain in the extracts from the preface has already been noticed, but there are two other paragraphs which might well have come straight out of Sartor Resartus, and which were probably mainly responsible for the facetious comments. They are too long for quotation in full, but a few sentences will suffice.

. . . And to those amongst ourselves, who, with good and generous intentions, have spoken lightly and unwisely concerning Dante, one has to say: Study him better. His ideas of Mercy, and Humanity, and Christian Freedom, and the means of attaining them, are not the same as yours, but unspeakably larger and sounder. He felt the infinite distance between Right and Wrong, and had to take that feeling along with him. And those gentle qualities of his, which you praise so much, lie at the root of his other heroic qualities, and are inseparable from them. All anger and indignation, it may safely be said, were much more painful to him than they can be to you. The Dante you have criticised is not the real Dante, but a mere scarecrow -

seen through the unhealthy mist of your sentimentalisms. Why do you keep preaching your impracticable humanities, and saying Peace, peace; where there is no peace?

The passage, which may well have been written by Thomas himself, was aimed mainly at Hunt and Landor; the former's Stories from the Italian Poets had appeared in 1846; the latter's Pentameron (1837) had been followed by more Imaginary Conversations. It was not a judicious addition to a preface of only eight pages in all, and otherwise written in a sober matter-of-fact tone.

The translation itself is not, as some of the comments on it might suggest, a Carlylese tour-de-force. Its main resemblance to the works of Thomas lies in its battery of capital letters and its sometimes eccentric punctuation. It is doubtful whether, had it been published anonymously and without the preface, it would have been connected with the Carlyles at all. Admittedly it is not written in straightforward or literary English, but most of its inversions and contortions are due to an effort to reproduce as nearly as possible the word order of the text. This sometimes produces effects that are clumsy without being illuminating, e.g. I.44-5, 'ma non sì, che paura non mi desse / la vista, che m'apparve, d'un leone' becomes 'yet not so, but that I feared at the sight, which appeared to me, of a Lion'. There are other phrases such as 'Good there is none to ornament the memory of him' (VIII.47) where the substitution of the last four words for 'his memory' is a mere stylistic device, or 'Stay thee, thou who by thy dress to us appearest to be someone from our perverse country' (XVI.8-9), where it seems needless to reproduce the word order of 'che all'abito ne sembri', or again, 'and he made the great endeavours, when the giants made the gods afraid' ('e fece le gran prove', XXXI.94-5), which simply is not English: these and a few like them might justifiably be criticised. It is, however, this effort to follow the original, combined with the background of Biblical

knowledge which is the heritage of every true Scot, that gives the translation its strongly individual flavour, rather than any attempt to reproduce the language of Weissnichtwo.

As it was, Carlyle fell between two stools. The Athenaeum thought he was too literal:

. . . To those who know nothing of Italian we fear this literal version will, however, be meagre fare. The vital spark of poetry is absent - the cinders of prose are left. Its very literality kills.

On the other hand Cayley, always an acute observer, had seized on one weakness genuinely present:

. . . many passages have required, under Mr Carlyle's treatment, to be doubly rendered, that is literally in the text, and more perspicuously in the footnotes, or vice versa . . . whereas a decided literary version should require no notes that are merely exegetic, and its text should be 'in seipso totus, teres atque rotundus'.

It is true that Carlyle here and there is obliged to compromise between an idiomatic and a literal translation. Thus (V.102) his text reads 'of which I was bereft; and the manner still afflicts me' and his footnote 'which was taken from me; and in a way that continues to afflict me', where in each case one half of the line, 'che mi fu tolta, e il modo ancor m'offende' is literal and one half transposed. His next line, 'Love, which to no loved one permits excuse for loving', has a footnote: 'Lit.: "pardons or remits loving" in return'. Again (VII.91) 'tanto posta in croce' is rendered 'so much reviled' with a footnote 'so oft put on the cross'; while in line 99 'Quando mi mossi' is replaced in the text by 'when we entered', but a footnote tells us: 'Lit.: "when I moved myself" to lead thee in'.

It is clear, however, from Carlyle's own remarks that he had much more in mind the convenience of those who were anxious to make a translation their bridge to the original than that of the merely casual reader. With a few reservations, he succeeded admirably in his purpose, and with some

allowance for its mannerisms, his version can be read with pleasure by those to whom the text is a sealed book. Some specimens of it, which are quite typical, are given below, and the Ulysses passage will be found in Appendix I.

When he had ended, the dusky champaign trembled so violently, that the remembrance of my terror bathes me still with sweat. The tearful ground gave out wind, and flashed with a crimson light, which conquered all my senses; and I fell, like one who is seized with sleep. (III.130-6)

'Now it behoves thee thus to free thyself from sloth,' said the Master; 'for sitting on down, or under coverlet, men come not into fame; without which whoso consumes his life, leaves such vestige of himself on earth, as smoke in air or foam in water. And therefore rise! Conquer thy panting with the soul, that conquers every battle, if with its heavy body it sinks not down. A longer ladder must be climbed. To have quitted these is not enough. If thou understandest me, now act so that it may profit thee.' (XXIV.46-57)

I sorrowed then, and sorrow now again when I direct my memory to what I saw; and curb my genius more than I am wont, lest it run where Virtue guides it not; so that, if kindly star or something better have given to me the good, I may not grudge myself that gift. (XXVI.19-24)

'I was of Arezzo,' replied the one, 'and Albert of Siena had me burned; but what I died for does not bring me here. 'Tis true, I said to him, speaking in jest: "I could raise myself through the air in flight." And he, who had a fond desire and little wit, willed that I should shew him the art; and only because I made him not a Daedalus, he made me be burned by one who had him for a son. But to the last budget of the ten, for the alchemy which I practised in the world, Minos, who may not err, condemned me.' (XXIX.109-20)

As to Carlyle's scholarship, it was acclaimed by all critics as first-class, and so it is indeed. He had thoroughly studied his text, and numerous commentaries; his notes show that he was familiar with most of the alternative readings and interpretations; once or twice he chooses one which has since been rejected as inferior, but in general his judgment is excellent. This was no mean achievement at a time when aids to study were far from being so conveniently accessible or so scientifically arranged as they are to-day. There is not what one could call a serious mistrans-

lation in the whole book; and in some places Carlyle is the first English translator to get a passage right, e.g. the much abused '*tanto che solo una camicia vesta*' of ~~XXIII~~42.

The most notable tribute to Carlyle's translation is Oelsner's revision which now forms the first volume of the Temple Classics edition of the Divine Comedy. Gollancz says in his editorial note:

Carlyle's translation has been edited by Dr Oelsner with all the reverence due to an English classic; alterations have been made only where a faulty Italian reading had been adopted, or in the case of actual errors.

At a rough count, less than a hundred changes have been made, many of them very slight; and in a large number of these the alteration has been made by using the rendering given in Carlyle's own footnote in preference to that in the original text. Otherwise the version of 1849 stands, except for some normalisation of the punctuation. That it should emerge so triumphantly from a thorough overhaul at the hands of a competent scholar more than half a century after its publication (a half century, be it remembered, crowded with Dante research, and overcrowded with other translations) suffices to disarm criticism. Carlyle's translation shares with those of Cary and Longfellow the distinction of having achieved not only a wide circulation, but a reputation which causes his name to be permanently linked with that of Dante among the English-speaking peoples. There are other translations which are better in various respects, but these three possess individuality which has made them worthy, as Gollancz puts it, 'of the reverence due to an English classic', because they combine the translator's own minor genius with the major genius of Dante, fusing them into a new whole which has some title to be classed as a piece of English literature. In this sense which, if not the best is at least one of the best, 'the experiment has been successful'.

PATRICK BANNERMAN

The Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated by Patrick Bannerman, Esq.
Printed for the Author by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh.
MDCCCL. Demy octavo, pp. 482. There is no preliminary matter except title pages and contents (three entries); the book contains the English text, printed without indentions or line numerals; there are no notes, arguments or explanations of any kind.

Patrick Bannerman so far remains unidentifiable. His book contains no information about himself beyond what appears on the title page. Messrs Blackwood have been able to confirm from their records that the entire cost of production was met by the translator; they printed 528 copies, and the book was priced at 12/-, but there is no record of any sales, so it would appear that the author disposed of them himself. He must have been a man of some substance and also of some education; but he is not to be found on the graduate roll of any Scottish University, nor in any of the directories of the period. The name is a common one in the north-east, Patrick being interchangeable with Peter; but although a few persons of the name can be traced there is not enough evidence to carry the investigation further.

Bannerman is a strong candidate for the invidious distinction of having produced the worst English translation of the Divine Comedy. There are two contemporary verdicts on record. The Athenaeum (March 1850, p. 611) opined:

A slight glance at this work is enough to satisfy the competent reader that the attempt is a failure. The version is rendered for the most part in couplets, - with an occasional triplet and unrhymed line, - and in no way represents the terza rima of the original. . . . In short a rendering so inelegant and faulty cannot be accepted as a fitting interpretation of the 'Divine' poem of the great Italian.

In the composite article which appeared in the Westminster Review (January 1861), Bannerman is dealt with at the end, in company with Jennings, Boyd,

Hindley and O'Donnell:

Of the few versions which remain to be considered, we scarcely know to which we ought to assign the bad pre-eminence of being the very worst of any. Mr Bannerman, if, as we presume, he is a Caledonian, has of course the same prescriptive right to be dull that a crow has to be black, or an adder deaf; but his nationality is no excuse at all for the presumption of undertaking to translate from a language of which he can really know nothing. His work, both as a translator and a poet, is as nearly worthless as anything we have seen.

Dr Werner P. Friedrich (Dante's Fame Abroad, p. 335) quotes the foregoing with the remark that it is 'unduly churlish', but makes no further explanation or comment. If he means the jibe at Bannerman's nationality we must certainly agree that it is in worse taste than we would expect from a literary journal of high reputation; if, however, he refers to the verdict on the translation, we disagree, and feel that the reader will also by the time he reaches the end of this article.

The metrical form of Bannerman's translation has been variously described; Toynbee calls it 'heroic verse, irregularly rhymed' which is about as near as one can get. Elsewhere it has been said to be in heroic couplets, an impression that might be given by the first canto, beyond which probably few readers have persevered. This canto begins with seven heroic couplets; these are followed by a triplet, another couplet, an unrhymed line, two more couplets, a triplet, a couplet, a triplet, and another unrhymed line; canto II opens with an assortment of couplets and triplets. But from that point onwards the general rule seems to be established that each *terzina* is represented by an unrhymed line followed by a couplet. There are occasional Alexandrines; oftener there are lines completely unscannable, if not indeed unreadable, like 'My sweet master said, who had me at's side' (Purg. X.47), or 'Why hast thou, my son, / Towards us, who are thy parents, thus done?' (Purg. XV.89-90). Bannerman has a slight tendency towards contraction; his cantos are on the whole a little shorter than Dante's; often when he

gets the sense of two *terzine* into five lines he simply omits one of the unrhymed lines. But he plays all manner of strange tricks; in *canto* I the four lines corresponding to 105-8 of the Italian neither rhyme with each other nor with any others; while the six consecutive lines corresponding to 118-23 all rhyme together: 'fire - inspire - choir - desire - retire - require'. This kind of eccentricity keeps cropping up throughout. The rhymes themselves are extraordinary; it is sometimes difficult to know which endings are really meant to rhyme. In *Inf.* XXII, for instance, we find the following series of line endings: 'hair - apart - depart - him - hair - otter - name - first - addressed - all - can - one - ascertain - ease - adversaries'. Rhymes like 'pray - Gomita', 'Sordello - so' are common; among others noted were: 'Pisistratus - gracious', 'Brigata - canto', 'purposeth - beneath', 'power - error', 'utter - together', 'head - uninterrupted'.

Metrical chaos apart, either regarded as a translation or as a piece of connected verse, Bannerman's attempt is almost entirely rubbish. He seldom manages to get more than fifty per cent of Dante's meaning; quite often he either obscures it completely, contradicts it, or says something totally different. How he arrived at these results is a mystery. For instance, by what process did he turn *Inf.* II.3-6 into:

And I alone was girding for the war,
Both of the journey and of their piteous star
Which he who pictures will not wander far ?

The following are one or two samples, taken from different parts of the poem, showing a variety of Bannerman's eccentricities; it must be realised, however, that the entire translation is mainly composed of such passages.

'It was because that each agreed with me,'
Echoed a name pronounced by single voice:
'They honoured me and made me to rejoice.'

(*Inf.* IV.91-3)

The perfect misery will not they attain
The accursed race. (Inf. VI.109-10)

If Jupiter his workman wearied out,
Struck with sharp thunderbolt before he fell
(By such percussion, too, I came to hell) . . . (Inf. XIV.52-4)

I turned myself like one who's forced to wait
To see some object which he fain would shun:
When sudden fear the fortress will unman,
To see will scarce induce him to remain. (Inf. XXI.25-8)

So 'twas with me, without the power to speak:
The excuse I wished to make - something forbid
Excusing, though I never thought I did. (Inf. XXX.139-41)

The left was such as the descending Nile could
Display, when sinking in alluvial mud. (Inf. XXIV.44-5)

'No outrage have I suffered,' he replied.
'If he who lifts both whom and when he please,
Hath oft denied this passage to my foes,
According to his own just will he acts.
'Tis three months, truly, since he gave release
To one who wished to enter into peace.' (Purg. II.94-9)

He acts with us as man does with himself -
Face of entreaty, need though he espy,
Sets himself ill-naturedly to deny:
To invitation such accorded feet,
To climb the way which darkness makes forlorn,
Not to be tried unless the day return. (Purg. XVII.58-63)

The Aeneid is my theme - the breast I sucked,
The nurse, the nurse, that soothed my murmuring song,
Else I had faltered with an atom on. (Purg. XXI.97-9)

She held her peace, and then the angels sang,
Sudden: 'In thee, O Lord! I've put my trust',
Advanced no more than to where 'My feet thou'st'. (Purg. XXX.81-4)

For every change, believe me, is but vain,
Unless whate'er divided you can fix
In figure, like the four within the six. (Purg. V.58-60)

Oh, unknown riches! oh, substantial good!
Aegidius, then Sylvester, bares his feet
Behind the bridegroom, if the bride permit. (Par. XI.82-4)

The cause from Egypt that 'tis granted him
The new Jerusalem to see to climb,
Before the rule of war prescribed the time. (Par. XXV.55-8)

Descending down the flower, from bench to bench,
They spoke of peace and ardour they acquired
In voyage ventilating, the side untired.

(Par. XXXI.16-18)

The foregoing are doubtless sufficient to condemn any translation; but
a few even greater absurdities, by no means uncommon, are quoted below.

To doleful cases who my right denies?

(Inf. VIII.120)

Robed but in one chemise, the mother flies

(Inf. XXIII.42)

'Lift up!' I said to master, 'lift your eyes!
Behold they come who will give us advice,
If you can't surmount the difficulties.'

(Purg. III.61-3)

The hopes they trust to, will they all be vain?
Or else your meaning is not very plain.

(Purg. VI.32-3)

Blessed are the peace-
Makers! for then their angry passions cease.

(Purg. XVII.68-9)

. . . where

Christ of the college abbot takes the care

(Purg. XXV.128-9)

And here is a passage perhaps inspired by reading Browning:

While turning round about our persons there,
'Blessed the poor in spirit', we hear men
Sing, as if they said to us a sermon;
But, ah! how different were those echoes from
Th' infernal tones, notes that now approach us! -
Here sweet song, and there laments ferocious.

(Purg. XII.109-14)

Such is the stuff of which Bannerman's translation is made. Admittedly
one could find here and there a good line, e.g.

a Marcellus seen again
In every petty village partisan

(Purg. VI.125-6)

The tremulous lustre of the morning star

(Purg. XII.90)

Behind my ship, which, singing, cuts the waves

(Par. II.3)

Such rare lines appear to be entirely accidental. Nowhere is there any sug-
gestion that Bannerman made an effort to rise to the height of the great
passages, and it is evident that he had no ear, e.g. Par. III.121-3:

'Twas thus she spoke to me. And then 'Ave
Maria' they sang; through the waves they went,
Like heavy body with a quick descent.

No less depressing is his version of Inf. XXXI.16-18:

After the rout so full of sorrow, which
Destroyed the power of host of Charlemagne,
Orlando's blast was not so full of pain.

There is one effect that Bannerman does make sure of; he finishes all three cantiche with the word 'stars', a feat which has taxed the wit of many translators in rhyme. But he does it by a very simple expedient - in each case the last line is an unrhymed one!

It is difficult to understand how anyone could have gone to the labour of compiling some 14,000 lines of such worthless verse as well as to the expense of printing it; or, for that matter, have expected anyone to pay twelve shillings - a considerable sum for a book in those days - for the result. Yet Bannerman's feat is not unparalleled in the annals of Dante translation either before or since.

CHARLES BAGOT CAYLEY

Dante's Divine Comedy, translated in the original ternary rhyme by C. B. Cayley, B.A. London: Longmans, Brown, Green and Longmans. Foolscape octavo, four volumes:

The Vision of Hell. 1851. pp. xxiv, 245. Preface, pp. v-xvi; contents with arguments, pp. xvii-xxiii; English text (printed in terzine with middle line indented), pp. 1-245; short errata list at end.

The Purgatory. 1853. pp. xvi, 249, xxxvi. Contents, pp. v-xvi; text, pp. 1-249; Appendix (meaning and interpretation of the Purgatorio), pp. i-xxxvi; short errata list at end.

The Paradise. 1854. pp. xvi, 251. Contents, pp. v-xv; text, pp. 1-251; no errata.

Notes on the Translation. 1855. pp. 408. Hell, pp. 5-129; Purgatory, pp. 131-267; Paradise, pp. 269-408.

N.B. The words 'The Vision of' are dropped on the title pages of Purgatory and Paradise.

Charles Bagot Cayley (1823-1883) made an unusual start to an otherwise unadventurous life, for he was born near St. Petersburg, where his father was in business. His education was orthodox; he went to Blackheath, King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating B.A. from the latter with a second class classical tripos in 1845. From that time on he settled down to the 'quiet and unpretentious life of a scholar' as one of his obituaries put it, and was long a familiar figure in the reading room of the British Museum, having his lodgings in Bloomsbury near by. The first instalment of his Dante was published when he was twenty-eight. Various other books followed: a volume of verse, Psyche's Interludes (1857), a metrical Psalter (1860), translations including Prometheus Bound (1876), the Iliad (1877), and finally the Sonnets and Stanzas of Petrarch (1879). Cayley was the first translator to complete an English version of the entire Comedy in terza rima.

Cayley sought instruction in Italian and aid in the study of Dante at the fountainhead, for in 1847 we find him as one of the few pupils whom Gabriel Rossetti, by that time in failing health, still received at Charlotte Street. Here he made the acquaintance of Christina Georgina, and probably fell in love with her then and there; but he was shy and diffident, and it was not till many years later, after the Collinson episode, that he declared himself. Christina left it on record that Cayley had 'much endeared himself' to the family during those years, and William Michael indicated that she was much interested in the project of translating Dante. Cayley's version was completed during the seven years of his discipleship, his *Paradiso* appearing in the year of the elder Rossetti's death. The acquaintance between Cayley and Christina had ripened into deep friendship by the early sixties; he made a formal proposal of marriage which was, however, rejected, rather surprisingly on account of scruples not unlike those which had earlier preserved her from a union with Collinson. This time it was the fact that Cayley was not apparently a member of any Christian church that deterred her. That he had real religious perception, as is evident from his writings, for instance his tilt at Leigh Hunt quoted later in this article, did not compensate for his aloofness from what to her was the only means of grace. She may well have seen her own portrait in her brother's description of the Blessed Damozel vainly waiting for a lover eternally excluded from the joys of heaven. There appears to have been something faintly ridiculous about the absent-minded scholar to whom, according to William Michael, Christina's posthumously published verses beginning 'The blindest buzzard that I know' refer. William Michael did his best to promote the match, even offering the couple the hospitality of his house if their means were an obstacle to setting up on their own. Cayley remained faithful to the end, and by his will he made Christina his literary executor and heir. Eleven years later

when she was dying she spoke of him with deep contrition and affection, and there can be little doubt that her love for him inspired some of her best poems.

Cayley's translation was introduced by a brief but vigorous preface of some 2,000 words, in which he made it clear that he was dissatisfied both with the 'public state of apathy and uncertainty on the canons and the value of translation', and also with the efforts of his predecessors. He regretted 'that general revolution in English poetry, which separates our modern schools from the imitators of Pope and Dryden', and the taste of a century 'which saw Hoole's Tasso supersede that of Fairfax'. He insisted that in translating there should be

diligent attention paid to both form and matter; nevertheless, there may be even here much wanting, if they do not evince sufficient regard to the idiom in which they shall be written.

He goes on to say that

the force and beauty of an expression depend mainly on its congruity with such forms and processes of thinking, as the reader is accustomed, if not constrained, to cultivate by the structure of his native language. . . . Only the adaptation of a fine expression to another language must not involve too great a modification of its moulding.

He then says that the reasons for his own venture are mainly to be sought 'among the defects attributable to our chief predecessors;

. . . not in their mere execution, . . . but in such general principles as have been distinguished in the above heads. These defects we may be entitled to censure frankly and calmly . . . '.

He adds that those whom he considers the best translators of Dante have left their works unfinished; and that

if Merivale or Dayman had rendered the whole poem as they have rendered some cantos, or the entire lay of Hell, they would, candidly speaking, 'give us pause' in the present undertaking.

Of Dayman's Inferno, however, he will say nothing further, since to avoid all copying from a version of like principles with his own he has obtained from reading more than a few pages.

He then proceeds to deal with Cary, Wright and Carlyle, making a side-thrust at Leigh Hunt in passing. Hunt, he says,

evidently translates Dante with a peculiar reluctance and disrelish . . . for a utilitarian philanthropist must always have a mean idea of the Singer of God's righteousness, . . . who proclaims a principle or retribution to overrule the "greatest happiness of the greatest number".

He goes on:

Cary, being too careful to give the poem a uniformly dignified tone . . . had adulterated all its franker style with the pomp and stiffness of our traditional epic poems, and so incurs the fault attributed to our old translators, of uttering one man's thoughts in the phraseology proper to another confraternity.

As to Wright's translation, he seems chiefly to have rivalled his predecessor by persuading the public that he had imitated the versification of Dante's poem, which he has indeed counterfeited to the eye, although the reading of a few triplets will show that he has adopted a much poorer and looser metre. . . . Besides, Wright's language is sometimes terribly weakened by a boarding-school or family-Shakespeare etiquette; as where he renders 'la meretrice' by 'that wicked meretricious dame', and similarly treats another verse, which I will not now quote, lest the truly moral plainness of the Italian should thus, without the context, have an effect of grossness.

It will behove me, lastly, to say a few words on a recent prose version of the Inferno. . . . I still think this work will be more read with the original than without; for besides the general disadvantage of its prosaic form, there is something in its language or style that reminds us more of the writer's celebrated brother, the author of Sartor Resartus, than of the style of Dante, so that many phrases of wonderful precision and efficiency when we compare the Italian, appear too uncouth and knotty for reading alone. . . . Furthermore many passages have required, under Mr J. Carlyle's treatment, to be doubly rendered, that is literally in the text, and more perspicuously in the notes, or vice versa.

In conclusion Cayley remarks that 'all the allegorical proper names in the poem which are of Italian formation should be replaced by English, or, if need be, by Greek or Latin equivalents intelligible in a classical day-school'; and he refers to Inf. XXII for an illustration of his method in this respect. He ends confidently by appealing to the judgment of the 'ermine-robed great world',

for whose approval I am but provisionally encouraged to hope by the kind criticisms . . . of Signor Rossetti, and by other gentlemen of known literary attainments and no shallow acquaintance with this subject.

The Athenaeum reviewer (6th September 1851, pp. 941-2) regretted the style of the preface:

It is by no means well written; and it breathes a tone of more pretension than would be expected from one who had been walking with the august Florentine in the right way.

Nevertheless he finds that the translation itself is

to our mind by far the most effectual transcript of the original that has yet appeared in English verse. One main ground of his superiority to previous translators lies in the true perception that nothing but plain and bald language in the copy can represent the bold plainness of the original.

The Dublin University Magazine (September 1853, pp. 253 ff) in an article on 'Recent Poems and Translations' thought that Cayley was 'meritorious, but has many awkward and inelegant inversions and transpositions', and by way of example quoted a passage from Purg. XVI, drawing particular attention to lines 7-9:

Thence could mine eye to be kept open bear
No longer. So my guardian, true and tried,
Came up, and of his shoulder made me share,

remarking that the first sentence is 'totally inadmissible into any composition having the slightest pretensions to elegance or correctness'. The North British Review (August 1854, pp. 451 ff) handled Cayley more gently, but found his use of terza rima 'not very successful' and objected to his archaisms. As late as 1867 the article in Blackwood's, mentioned earlier, on 'Dante in English terza rima', which bestowed faint praise on Brooksbank and Ford, made fun of Mrs Ramsay, and trounced Thomas, opined that the versions of Cayley and Dayman were 'incomparably the best terza rima translations of the Divine Comedy'. Both writers were, it said, ripe scholars, familiar with the great English poets, and their work showed 'majestic

simplicity'. The faults in Cayley are then mentioned as being the use of archaisms and colloquialisms (Purg. VIII.77 is quoted, 'How long in lasses fire of love can burn'), over-Latinisation, loose rhymes like ('failed-child', 'dim - come', etc.), and too frequent repetition of the same set of rhyming sounds.

It is true that all these faults are characteristic of Cayley, but overriding them all is the much greater fault hinted at by the Dublin reviewer: Cayley seems to be so much occupied with getting something approaching the sense of Dante into English that will obey the necessary rhyme scheme, that he seldom rises above being flat and prosaic, so that what is poetic in Dante is left to the reader's imagination. The failing is not peculiar to Cayley, but pervades the whole body of Dante translation almost to the end of the century. The extracts in Appendix I are on the whole favourable specimens of Cayley's work. The few examples quoted below illustrate more emphatically his continual struggle between sense and rhyme, and they are quite typical.

He shall this humbled Italy deliver,
For which Euryalus, Nisus, Turnus, fell
Bewounded, and Camilla knew man never. (Inf. I.106-8)

'The opposite,' he said, 'controls my vote;
Cease vexing of my soul, and go thy way;
Thou knowest ill to flatter in this moat.' (Inf. XXXII.94-6)

Is breach so made in statutes of the deep,
Or change of new decrees in heaven enrolled,
That dammed you upon my bulwarks peep? (Purg. I.46-8)

No farther ever climbeth arid gas,
Than by the topmost of the stairs before-
Named, where his feet St. Peter's vicar has. (Purg. XXI.52-4)

Preference for learned words produces such lines as: 'In cognisance the alteration took' (Inf. IV.6) or 'Where its appellative becomes inane' (Purg. V.97). Archaisms include such a varied list as 'yclad', 'ypight',

'yferē', 'clepe', 'gree'. There is also a frequent use of an antiquated possessive form, as 'in antique Rāchel her society' (Inf. II.102) or 'the Carle his wain' (for 'Charles's Wain', Purg. I.30). Provincialisms and colloquialisms also abound: 'nesh', 'fashless', 'speir', 'chield', no doubt in imitation of Dante's varied vocabulary. The word 'sally' is used regularly to describe any sort of motion, and 'jubilee' is also a favourite word, while even 'jubileeing' is found to keep 'hallelujahing' company. In Par. XX.67 the sparks from the divine river falling on the flowers are 'by the odor seeming swilled'; Cayley, incidentally, seems to have been a spelling reformer, for he uses 'honor', 'favor', etc., consistently. Par. XXXIII. 85-7 shows a desperate expedient:

In its profundity 'gan I discern
By love bound up together in one whole,
All that which through the Universe doth churn,

and a parallel curiosity is found in Par. I.94-6:

Now, though divested of my former doubt
By the brief wordies that she smiled, far more
Was I by one, that followed, wrapp about.

For sheer bathos it would be difficult to beat Inf. XXXIII.58-60:

Then did I both my hands for fury gnaw,
But they perceiving me, rose up amain,
Believing I had done it for my maw, . . .

When all these features are combined, it is hard to know where the writer in Blackwood's detected 'majestic simplicity'. Here, for instance, is the opening of Cayley's Paradiso:

The Glory of the Mover of all Being
Pervades the Universe, one region more,
Another less, the effulgence of it seeing;
The heaven, that holds His light in fullest store,
I entered, and saw things, which never he,
Who thence returns, had power to speak, or lore.
Because our intellect puts out to sea
So far, when her Desire she draweth nigh,
That memory her attendant cannot be.

But all that from the sacred realm in my
Remembrance I could store, in every guise,
Shall now the matter of my song supply.

Till now hath sped me one Parnassian height,
But on my last arena now beneath
The double safeguard, I must needs alight.

The rhymes themselves are often very loose; besides the variations in vowel sounds already quoted we find: 'kept - intellect', 'firm - discern', 'attend - condemned', 'lament - exempt'. Cayley's double rhymes are often more sensational or ingenious than appropriate; for instance, in Purg. XXV.39, to rhyme with 'Lucca - Gentucca' he has 'which makes them each to look a / Grape with its husks out'. In Par. XV.124-6 we have:

And one with flax and spindle would employ
Her fingers, and amongst her maidens tell a
Tale of the Romans, Fesulae, or Troy,

the rhymes being 'Salterello - Cianghella'. A curious case occurs in Purg. XXVI.37 ff:

Then from the friendly greeting all again
Dispart themselves, and take not leisure for a
Step only, when they call, with might and main,
The later comers, 'Sodom and Gomorra',
The former gang, 'Pasiphae, . . .
.

The dots represent asterisks; the next line is 43, which ends in 'haste'. Whether Cayley had words in his mind that he did not print it is hard to tell. There are two other instances where words are replaced by asterisks: line 87 of the same canto, 'che s'imbestiò nelle 'mbestiate schegge', which is entirely omitted, and lines 100-2 of Par. XII, which refer to Dominic's attacks on heretics, also omitted; they are replaced with corresponding lines of asterisks in both cases. There is no remark in the Notes; the latter passage may have been left out because it suggested the Inquisition; while the two omissions in Purg. XXVI must be due to a desire to avoid an

unsavoury allusion, which is strange in view of the declaration in the preface, and the fact that elsewhere he goes out of his way to call a harlot a 'whore' to show that he is not squeamish.

There are a number of unintentional omissions, later detected and supplied in the Notes. The worst is in Inferno X where lines 106-14 are missing; the others are single terzine. In all cases but one a rhyme change has to be given in the Notes so as to link up the addition. These omissions have the disadvantage of throwing the line numbering wrong, sometimes nearly throughout the whole canto. Apart from this, the printing is very accurate; single and double quotation marks are correctly inserted, and the very few slips noticed are all corrected in the errata or in the Notes.

An unusual feature of Cayley's translation is that Arnault's speech at the end of Purg. XXVI is in Middle English to represent the original Provençal: 'Your curtis askin dignifeys me sae . . . ', etc., and Cacciaguida's Latin speech (Par. XV.28-30) is Chaucerian:

Myne ownè blode! ah riche outpoured grace!
To whome of mennès children hath the gate
Of heaven twyse opned bene, as in thy caas?

In fulfilment of his promise in the preface, Cayley performs some strange feats with proper names: not every Dantist might readily recognise at first sight in John Fūtchi the defiant thief of Inf. XXIV; on the other hand many names are left untouched. The demons of canto XXI are a motley crew: Malebolge, Malebranche, Malacoda and Grafficanè are Anglicised to Evilpits, Evilarms, Eviltail and Mammoockhound; Barbariccia, Cagnazzo and Ciriatto are Hellenised to Barbacrespa, Cynopus and Chæroides; Draghignazzo is simplified to Draconay, and the others left as in the Italian. It is doubtful if the 'classical day-school' of our times would regard these changes as a contribution towards intelligibility.

Cayley was undoubtedly a serious and competent scholar, as his volume of Notes testifies. He was of course handicapped, compared with the translator of to-day, through lack of knowledge which we now possess. The sprinkling of mistranslations in his version does not constitute a serious blemish. Quite a few of them are due to misinterpretations current at the time. Others like 'His will becomes the righteous will of men' for 'chè di giusto voler lo suo si face' (Purg. II.97), or, rather worse, the reversal of the sense in 'And this our state, which does on earth appear / So grand' for 'E questa sorte che par giù cotanto' (Par. III.55), are probably mere slips. Although a collection of a score of such instances has been made, they are not worth enumerating here.

To Cayley's Purgatorio is appended a discussion of the interpretation of the poem, based on the 'four senses' referred to in the Convito. Various authorities are quoted, showing that Cayley had read widely, and several pages are devoted to the role of Beatrice in cantos XXX-XXXIII.

Cayley's volume of Notes is a testimonial to his industry and thoroughness. The notes are mainly factual, giving information as to the persons and incidents mentioned in the poem; occasionally they deal with allegory and interpretation; literary judgments are rare. Cayley does not show any evident interest in Dante as a poet. Occasionally he is betrayed into observations that hardly belong to the province of the scholar or commentator; perhaps the most surprising of these is on Purg. XXVII.49:

In representing himself to have tasted the torments of this circle, Dante is said to have avowed, in a marked manner, his proneness to unchaste desires. Yet as he apparently intimates that there is no gap in the flames, - whence we must conceive that every soul, in emerging from Purgatory, passes through them however rapidly, as does on this occasion the grave Virgil with the modest and conjugal Statius, - shall we not say that the poet convicts mankind in general, rather than his individual self, of lewdness in deeds, words,

or thoughts? We must allow, of course, that there are some spirits who do not go through Purgatory, and among these, for the sake of women's honour, let every gentle reader include his Beatris.

We know now, of course, that by this time Cayley was already probably worshipping his own Beatrice in secret.

Cayley's translation can hardly be judged anything but a failure, and is practically unreadable to-day. However high his appreciation of Dante's beauties may have been, he does not really seem to have faced the task of devising an English vehicle to reproduce them; he has been content to twist Dante's literal meaning into a frame of recurring stresses and rhymes, without realising what this distortion involves. The dates of publication of his volumes suggest also that he worked too fast; he may have given all his time to the work, but to make a point of turning so many lines every day is not a good way to set about translating Dante. It must be added, moreover, that Cayley was insufficiently endowed with poetic sensibility to be successful in his task. Had he not embarked on it so young, he might have done better; his last work, the sonnets of Petrarch, shows a great improvement in technique, although some characteristic defects are still present. Here is his version of 'I' vo piangendo i miei passati tempi', other versions of which are given later.

I keep on still bewailing times gone by,
Which I misused to love a mortal thing,
Not soaring upwards, though I had the wing,
And raising, it may be, my credit high.
Oh Thou, that seest how fallen and vexed I lie,
Invisible and everlasting King,
Help thou my frail, misguided soul, and bring
Grace thereto, which its failings may supply;
That, having lived in strife and storm, I yet
May die in peace and calm; and if my stay
Was fruitless, comely may be my farewell.
In life - what little is before me set -
In death, still keep Thy hand about my way;
My hopes, Thou knowest, on Thee only dwell.

A comparison of this with the original indicates Cayley's limitations. In particular, he has omitted the phrase of the sonnet which lives most in the memory, 'Mòra in pace et in porto'; his 'strife and storm' in the previous line only serve to emphasise the fact that he has missed the haven.

E. O'DONNELL

Translation of the Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri. By the Rev. E. O'Donnell. London: Thomas Richardson and Son, 172 Fleet Street; 9 Capel Street, Dublin; and Derby. MDCCCLIII. Foolscap octavo, pp. viii (but see below), 519. 'To the reader', pp. vii-viii; index (list of cantos with short summary of each), pp. ix-xvi; preface, pp. ix-xviii; Life of Dante, pp. 19-35; English text (argument at head of each canto, footnotes, and paragraph headed 'Allegory' at end of each canto), pp. 37-519.

Some confusion has occurred in the pagination; it looks as though the prelims. had not originally included the index, and had been numbered with Roman folios i-xviii, with the intention of beginning the Arabic folios at 19. When the index was inserted on folios ix-xvi, the succeeding folios were not altered; there are therefore 527 pages in all.

So far nothing has been discovered regarding Father O'Donnell beyond what he tells us in his preface. Toynbee gives no particulars regarding him, nor do other bibliographers; and inquiries of Church authorities and at the National Library of Ireland have so far been fruitless. All we know is that he was a priest of the Roman Catholic Church and that

I began this work in 1848, in the pious and respectable monastery of Santa Trinita in Florence, and finished it in the famous and magnificent monastery of Vallombrosa, situated in one of the most picturesque and beautiful parts of Tuscany.

While his name and the fact that he had his volume published in Dublin leave little doubt as to his nationality, beyond that we can say nothing definite.

O'Donnell had the distinction of producing the first complete translation of the Divine Comedy into English prose. The only prose translation of any considerable part of the poem prior to his was Carlyle's *Inferno*, published three years earlier; no further prose version appeared until Butler's *Purgatorio* in 1880.

O'Donnell's preface is both indiscreet and aggressive, and these

deficiencies are aggravated by the addition to his preliminaries of a few hundred words headed 'To the Reader', the first and principal paragraph of which is as follows:

I here present to you the labour and fruit of my long and hard study, and hope you will derive some literary advantage, and mental entertainment from it. I must say without vanity or exaggeration, that no translator has ever done more justice to the author than I have in every respect. What some translators are deficient ~~in~~ of in the spirit of the Poem, or in their knowledge of the Italian language, they strive to supply with pompous, bombastic quotations from others, and often give erroneous interpretations of many passages of the work. I have diligently studied the Text in all its poetic and figurative styles, consulted the most intelligent commentators, and deduced in a true Catholic spirit, in accordance with the Poet's Christian principles, moral, religious, and philosophic allegories, which are a considerable acquisition to the work. I have translated, as far as the original text would allow, a few of the first cantos, as literally as possible. The Italian scholar alone is capable of judging of its almost insurmountable difficulties. Whoever is ignorant of the language cannot possibly do so. To please both is the most critical task. A literal translation of the Poem is morally impossible; a loose, paraphrastic one would completely distort and disfigure the natural beauties of the original. I have therefore observed the medius terminus throughout, in order to satisfy all.

This proem might well make the reader close the book again in disgust; or if he proceeded he would do so in a highly critical mood. The preface repeats some of the same claims. The great difficulties of Dante are insisted on at some length, and it is stated that the translation of Homer, Virgil and other classical writers 'is but child's amusement, in comparison to the complicated and intricate composition of the Divina Commedia'. In the next paragraph we learn that when he began to experiment with the translation of a few cantos of the Inferno, even O'Donnell's shoulders trembled beneath 'the weight of this arduous, and I may say, presumptuous task'; 'but having consulted some learned friends, both Italian and English, I have, with their kind approbation and flattering encouragement, ventured to continue and complete the whole poem'. After further remarks about Dante's subject matter and style he says:

In the translation of this beautiful poem, I have endeavoured to make it as literal, concise, and intelligible as possible, which is not an easy matter from its extreme difficulty. I have also put an argument at the head of each canto, to explain the nature and principal subject thereof, with illustrative notes on the most important passages, which I think is sufficient for the classical scholar. As for the others, it would be labour in vain, as it is not in the power of man to make the work intelligible to those who are not well versed in history and other sciences. I have likewise added what has not yet appeared in any translation of the poem, interesting allegories to the end of each canto, in order to explain more fully the moral and religious sentiments, and profoundly philosophic spirit of our illustrious poet.

It is a little surprising to read further on that the writer is not quite so confident as one might suppose, for he confesses:

. . . I now, with a degree of timidity and trembling anxiety, present it before the enlightened and, I expect, indulgent public . . . and flatter myself with the pleasing hopes, that it will be a useful source of literary entertainment and mental amusement to them at home, and in their leisure hours at their respective places of public education a cheerful recreation and delightful pastime.

In conclusion he asserts:

In Italy, there are two particular things that generally attract the attention, and excite the admiration of all strangers, Rome and Dante. . . . Whoever has seen neither one nor the other, may say he knows but very little of Italy, the classic fountain of all the fine arts, science and literature, with all their splendid, charming, and enchanting beauties.

'The youth of Great Britain and Ireland' to whom the volume is dedicated might well be excused for feeling somewhat discouraged by the time they reached the end of the preface.

The translation itself fails completely to support its author's claims to what sounds almost like infallibility. Not only is it far from literal in many places, but it abounds in errors, some of them quite elementary. Nowhere does O'Donnell say what text he followed, or who his chief authorities were, but after making the most charitable allowances for his being misled by other commentators, it is obvious that he quite often did not understand the Italian. A selection of instances follows.

Master, will these torments cease after the general judgment, or will they be less, or so excruciating. (Inf. VI.103-5)

Obviously he has here mistakes 'cresceranno' for 'cesseranno'; the latter reading is not recorded by Moore, and in any case it should be obvious that it is absurd. Equally absurd is Virgil's reply (lines 109-11):

Hence though these damned souls can never be perfectly happy, still they expect to be more so after than before the judgment.

In the same way he renders Inf. VII.72, 'Or vo' che tu mia sentenza ne 'mbocche', as 'Now I wish to make my opinion known to all', as though 'tu' were 'tutto' or something of the kind, but here again no such reading is recorded. After his claims to literality it is difficult to know why O'Donnell should change 'Vedi che son un che piango' (Inf. VIII.36) to 'Thou seest I am one of the damned', or Dante's reply in the next line, 'Con piangere e con lutto . . . ti rimani', to 'Remain then among the damned'. Fraud, says O'Donnell (Inf. XI.52-4) 'can be committed by a breach of confidence, or want of confidence'. He goes on: 'This species of distrust destroys only the tie of love formed by nature . . . ' and finishes up (64-6) 'in the last circle . . . whoever commits fraud, is tormented for all eternity'. An inconclusive footnote increases the confusion, and it seems doubtful if he had taken the trouble to follow the real meaning of this passage. Although he renders Inf. XIV.22-4 correctly, he mixes up the next *terzina* hopelessly:

Those lying were more numerous, and those sitting, exposed to torments, were less in number, but their tongue was more apt to express their grief and torture.

Lines 37-9 are likewise confused and lose their effect completely:

. . . in like manner to increase their torments, the eternal fire fell there, which inflamed the sand like a match.

At Inf. XVI.21 O'Donnell makes the careless mistake of thinking that Guido Guerra and his companions 'formed a circle around us', while lines 25-8

are equally careless: 'in such like evolutions they turned towards us, but with their heads and feet in opposite directions'. Inf. XX.16-18 is also ridiculous:

It might have been perhaps that some of them had the neck dislocated from the effect of a palsy in their lifetime, but I have never seen the like, neither do I believe it.

Another absurdity occurs in Inf. XXI.1-2, 'altro parlando / che la mia comedia cantar non cura' becoming 'talking of things not fit to be inserted in my comedy'. Inf. XXVIII.86-7, 'che tale qui meco / vorrebbe di vedere esser digiuno' becomes 'which a certain ghost here with me would not be over-anxious to see'. Inf. XXX.136-8 is chaotic: 'As one who dreams of some misfortune, and in his dream wishes to dream what he fears should not be'. The explanation of the sun in the north in Purg. IV is hazy, although O'Donnell renders 'mal' correctly in line 72 by 'to his misfortune'. Dante's reply is very puzzling, and finishes up with the Hebrews seeing the sun 'in the hot western clime'. He has also fallen into the trap of Purg. V.38-9 by making the sun dart rapidly through the August clouds. He reverses the sense of Purg. XIII.6 by saying that the circumference of the second circle 'inclines less'. There is a bizarre mistranslation of Purg. XVII.59-60:

. . . for he that waits to be prayed to, and sees his neighbour in distress, unfortunately exposes himself to a refusal in time of want.

The tree in Purg. XXII.134 is made to 'increase downwards' instead of 'decrease'. Purg. XXVII.17-18 reads: 'looking at the fire, and seriously reflecting to see these bodies I once knew burning in the flames'. The syntax of Purg. XXVII.76-8 has not been understood, with grotesque results:

As light-footed wanton goats lie ruminating on the side of a hill,
before they take their last meal . . .

The majestic 'si come luce luce in ciel seconda' (Purg. XXX.91) suffers a ludicrous transformation to 'there came after them as quick as lightning

four animals'. Par. II.99 has been misunderstood and not connected with the preceding line, for it is rendered 'and keep thy eyes between the first two'. The pearl of Par. III.14-15 'would not appear quicker to the sight' - a mere slip, made by other translators, but one would expect better from a claimant to such accuracy as O'Donnell. The following version of Par. XII. 46-54 neither satisfies the admirer nor helps the student:

In that part where the west wind gently blows to refresh the new flowers, with which Europe abounds, not very far from the shore that is lashed by the waves, to the back of which at an extensive tract the sun is sometimes concealed from the sight of man, is situated the happy Callaroga, under the protection of the great shield, emblazoned with a lion and towers.

Par. XV.34-6 hardly succeeds in conveying the sense intended:

. . . for such a lovely smile glowed in her eyes, that I thought
I saw the end of my high privilege, and of all my bliss in paradise.

'The angel of God, who taketh away the sins of the world' (Par. XVII.33) is again a mere slip, but surely anyone familiar either with Christian theology or biblical language should not have made it. There are more ways than one of interpreting Par. XV.15, but O'Donnell's 'attracting people's notice, who quietly stare thereon' cannot be numbered among them. But we must hasten the tale, and conclude with an absurdity, or perhaps it should be called an Irishism, from the last canto (lines 58-60):

Like one who sees something in a dream, and when it is over retains
some impression thereof, and then completely forgets it . . .

It will be evident from the foregoing examples that O'Donnell's translation is completely unreliable. There are, however, many passages where, although he is seldom very readable, he is tolerably accurate; the passages in Appendix I do not, for instance, contain any of his more glaring errors.

Apart from his inaccuracy, O'Donnell's translation abounds in faults of style which alone would condemn it as quite unacceptable. These must

be dealt with very briefly. He has a liking for polysyllables, and produces passages of 'sesquipedalia verba' which leave the reader stunned, e.g. (Inf. II.37-42):

And like one who no longer desires what he wished for before, and, on a second consideration, changes his mind, so as to have abandoned what he had commenced, such was my case on approaching this gloomy region, for I accomplished my enterprise merely in imagination, whereas, at the very commencement it was forsaken.

This is taken from one of the early cantos in which O'Donnell professes to be very literal, but his verbosity merely distorts and obscures the meaning. Purg. X.10-13 reads:

We must here use some dexterity, said my guide, keeping close alternatively to each side that opens hollow. This critical position retarded our journey . . .

A familiar passage (Par. XIV.127-39) is typical of all too many others:

I was in such ravishment, that nothing ever before captivated me with sweeter chains. Perhaps my words may appear exaggerated, in preferring it to the delight of those beautiful eyes, in contemplating which all my desires are fulfilled. But he who considers that the impressions of these celestial splendours become more lively, in proportion as one ascends the spheres, and that I did not turn my attention to her eyes, will excuse me of what I accuse myself to obtain pardon, and see that I tell truth; for I do not exclude the holy pleasure I derive from her, because it becomes more delightful, according as we ascend.

Some isolated fragments are reminiscent of Punch parodies. 'Il gran rifiuto' of Inf. III.60 is made by one 'who through false delicacy rejected the great offer'. Inf. IV.9, 'che truono accoglie d'infiniti guai' becomes 'the receptacle of innumerable horrors'; Inf. XI.3, 'We came over a heap of ghosts, more cruelly tormented'; Inf. XIV.99, 'in a state of abandonment through antiquity'. Of the fable at the beginning of Inf. XXIII he says:

For the words now and at present have not a more synonymous resemblance to each other, than those quarrels had, by properly considering their cause and effect.

Purg. I.115-7 reads:

Morning was now advancing, and I perceived at a distance the fluctuating movement of the sea.

Manfred (Purg. III.145) says: 'for we derive great advantage here from the charitable works of the other world'; the spirits in Purg. VI.27 desire 'to accelerate their sanctification'; Lucia (Purg. IX.57) offers to 'facilitate' Dante's journey; the gate of Purgatory (X.2) is 'seldom passed on account of the culpable concupiscence of souls'; 'della mente infermi' (Purg. X.122) becomes 'weak in mental intellects'. Dante says to Oderisi (Purg. XI.118-20):

Thy moral reflections inspire my heart with salutary humility, and
abate my presumptuous pride;

while line 139 of the same canto, 'I'll say no more, and I know what I say is not very intelligible', provokes a smile. In Purg. XVIII.67-9 we read:

Those who by philosophical argumentation dive to the bottom of things,
agree with regard to this innate liberty, but left the doctrine of
its morality to the world.

Purg. XXVI.76-8 is handled with delicacy; if not very grammatically:

The souls who do not proceed with us, have committed what Caesar,
to his confusion, heard himself called queen on the day of his
triumph.

Dante addresses the Muses (Purg. XXIX.37-9):

O holy virgins! if I have ever suffered hunger, cold and lucubrations
on your account, I am now necessitated to reclaim some recompense
for them.

Par. XIII.84 becomes astonishingly: 'thus the pregnant Virgin preserved her virginity'.

There are other oddities that increase the general impression of absurdity that this translation gives. The contraction Mr. (presumably = Monseigneur) occurs frequently in the Inferno, but Mr. Brunetto and Mr. Adam seem rather out of place. In Inf. XIX.46 Pope Nicholas III is referred to as 'tossed upside down like a pail', which does not say much for O'Donnell's Italian vocabulary. In Inf. XXXII.116-7 O'Donnell, trying to match Dante's facetiousness, has: 'Thou canst say: I have seen the gentleman of Duero, where the guilty souls have no stoves'. The countryman

of Purg. XXVI.67 is 'a vulgar, clownish mountaineer'. In Par. II.6 the over-venturesome are warned that 'perhaps losing me ye may be tossed about from post to pillar'. In Par. XXIII.62 'the sacred poem must bounce'. An irritating feature of the printing is that there are no quotation marks, nor is direct speech indicated by paragraphing or punctuation; it is therefore often difficult to distinguish where it ends, or where the speaker changes.

O'Donnell's notes are brief and mainly factual; occasionally they are ambiguous, sometimes even misleading. In Purg. XIV he mixes Guido del Duca and Rinier del Calboli in a confusing fashion. The 'Allegories' appended to each canto are laboured affairs, of which that to Inf. XV will serve as an example.

By Dante's difficulty in recognising his old preceptor, is shown how that horrible crime contrary to nature renders one more like a brute than human being; by his not descending with him through fear of the fire, is intimated how one should avoid the company of such vicious men, so that he should not be subject to the same brutal state and punishment. By bending down his head at such an awful sight, is meant how one should bend his head and shut his eyes against every temptation and concupiscence, prejudicial to his health, honour, and salvation.

The article in the Westminster Review of January 1861, reviewing the progress of English translations of the Divine Comedy to date, dismisses O'Donnell with the verdict he deserves.

With Mr Hindley's and Mr O'Donnell's prose versions we may complete the list of those 'ove non è che luca'. They display so few evidences of either spirit or accuracy, that we will not rashly undertake to decide between their respective merits. We have certainly detected the graver errors and inaccuracies in Mr O'Donnell's; but his translation extends over the whole poem, and has thus afforded him more opportunity of distinguishing himself; whereas Mr Hindley has more prudently confined himself to the rendering of four cantos.

THOMAS BROOKSBANK

Dante's Divine Comedy. The First Part. Hell. Translated in the Metre of the Original with Notes. By Thomas Brooksbank, M.A. Camb. London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand. 1854. Foolscap octavo, pp. viii, 246. Dedication, p. iii; original sonnet 'To Dante', p. v; introductory note (unheaded), pp. v-viii; English text, printed in terzine, with arguments at head of cantos, and with footnotes, pp. 1-246.

Thomas Brooksbank (1824-1902) was the son and namesake of a solicitor of Gray's Inn. He graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A. 1847, M.A. 1850), was admitted to the Inner Temple and called to the bar in 1849. He is described by Foster as an equity draftsman and conveyancer. The introductory note to his translation is dated from Lincoln's Inn. Like several other Dante translators he was a member of the Alpine Club. His version of the Inferno, dedicated to his father, was completed before he was thirty; but although in his preface he writes that he intends to proceed with the other two parts of the Comedy, he does not appear to have done so. The following extract from his foreword explains his aims and procedure.

I was impelled to the long and difficult task by an enthusiasm for the Poem, and by that alone; and I can truly assert that, so far as I have yet advanced in it, my enthusiasm for it has suffered no decline. I feel that in this consists the best hope I have, that what I have completed may not be deemed unworthy, and that a feeling which has lasted so long will sustain me through the two remaining 'Canzoni', with which I shall proceed as quickly as the nature of the work, and my own sense of what is decorous to the great Poet, will allow; for nothing seems to me more unpardonable than to publish a translation of such a Poem, without having honestly done one's best, and especially without allowing such time for deliberation as it must require. The mere translating of the Part now presented occupied me a year and three-quarters, during three months of which, however, I was abroad, and did not touch it. I have already, however, in manuscript, several Cantos of Purgatory.

My chief, almost my sole, object has been to make a translation which, preserving the form and pressure of the greatest Epic since the old classic days, may be intelligible and readable to an English reader unacquainted with Italian. . . . I have chosen the metre of the original for my version, . . . and I feel convinced that, though it

will at first sound unusual (and may sound at the outset a little uncouth even) in the ears of many readers, few will fail to observe, if they persevere, how well it suits the subject. . . .

I think it right to say, that in writing my own I have been assisted by no other translation than the excellent one of Mr Cary, which I have frequently consulted, and to which I am pleased to avow my obligation.

The foregoing has been quoted at length partly because it presents a pleasant picture of the translator's character, and one that is confirmed by his dedication, his acknowledgments, and indeed, despite its imperfections, the translation and notes. There is an engaging mixture of still youthful eagerness, modesty, generosity and affection; some naïveté, no doubt, but sound intelligence and open honesty - qualities not always found in the accompaniments to a translation.

Brooksbank may be regarded as one of the pioneers of terza rima translation. He had been preceded only by Dayman, whose *Inferno* appeared in 1843 and which Brooksbank, he tells us, did not read until he had completed his own; and by Cayley, whom he does not mention, but who was almost contemporary. His version had a lukewarm reception, which may have deterred him from going further, or he may have been discouraged by the fact that other translations came on the market before his was ready.

The Athenaeum reviewer (24th March 1855, pp. 348-9) admitted that Brooksbank had

less predilection than Mr Cayley for antiquated and out-of-the-way expressions; but, at the same time, he is far less vigorous, and he is sometimes driven into curious straits by the exigencies of his metre.

The North British Review (1854, pp. 451 ff), noticing a number of recent translations, said:

Mr Brooksbank's will probably give pleasure to a greater number of readers than the others. That pleasure would perhaps have been greater had he not adopted the complicated structure of verse in which the original has been written.

It must be admitted that Brooksbank had little poetic faculty. His translation is on the whole a pedestrian effort, with frequent awkwardness and inversion, padding or far-fetched additions being dragged in for the sake of the rhyme, and occasional absurdities being perpetrated. We get such lines as: 'In all thy questions I am pleas'd, God wot!' (XIV.133); and there are (despite the remark of the Athenaeum critic) far too many archaisms of the 'I ween', 'I weet', 'yclept' or 'hight' variety. None the less, Brooksbank compares not unfavourably with Dayman and Cayley. He has a genuine appreciation of his original, as in the ~~smile~~^{line} of IX.64-72:

For now above the turbid waves a roar
Of sound came rushing ~~on~~ us, full of dread,
And at its coming trembled either shore.
Not other is the whirlwind current bred,
Impetuous by opposing heats intense,
Which ~~unites~~ the forest, and ungoverned
Dashes the branches, rends and whirls them thence,
And scattering the herdsman and the brute,
Sweeps proudly on like sand in clouds immense.

More recent translators have done worse in this passage. Brooksbank's version of canto XXXIII starts well:

The sinner lifted from the monstrous food
His mouth, and on the tresses of the head
That he behind had mangled, wip'd the blood.
'Thou biddest me renew the grief,' he said,
'Which crushes down my heart in its despair
To think of, ere one word be uttered.
But if my words may be the seed to bear
Harvest of shame unto the traitor-wretch
I gnaw, thou'lt see me weep as I decal're.
I know thee not, nor yet how thou couldst reach
This lowest region - but a Florentine
Truly I deem thee when I hear thy speech.

Further on in the episode the style deteriorates and he is struggling for rhymes; the concluding lines (70-5) are very poor:

And on that spot he died - and one by one,
Even as you glare on me, I saw them drop
Between the fifth and sixth days; then begun,

Blind as I was upon their forms to grope;
Three days upon the dead my cries resound -
Then grief no longer could with hunger cope.

The same inequalities appear in the Francesca passage, e.g. contrast the first and second terzine of lines 133-8:

For ~~when~~^{as} we read ~~when~~ the wish'd smile did glide,
How on it that enamour'd youth did pour
His kisses, he, who ne'er shall quit my side,
Kiss'd my warm mouth, eager, all trembling o'er -
A Pandar was the writer, and the book
Which he had writ - that day we read no more.

At his worst, it must be granted, Brooksbank is pretty bad. A reader might be excused from being unable to place some of the following lines if he came across them in isolation:

And us who stain'd the earth with bloody waste (V.90)
Were these all holy shavelings who are shorn? (VII.39)
Since when for ever round his hairs I swim (XXVII.117)
Fell with his Kingdom in one mighty crash (XXX.15)

At times Brooksbank is obscure to the point of incomprehensibility, and this may be due to an imperfect understanding of the original. It is difficult to see what is meant by XVIII.25-6:

Some from the centre run towards our eyes,
Then back with us with vaster strides they go.

Mahomet's description of his torment (XXVIII.37-42) is incoherent:

A devil is behind, whose ruthless goad
Pursues us ever, and his trenchant sword,
Each time that we have trod the dismal road,
Replaces in their order all the horde;
Yet ere a second time we pass him by,
The gashes must be all to health restor'd.

At other times he shifts the emphasis or spoils the effect, as in:

And thou shalt witness those who have not lost
All their contentment even in the fire. (I.118-9)
As one who understands not a reply,
Whom all about his scoff at and deride,
Who knows not how to answer: so stood I. (XIX.58-60)

The expansion of 'quasi scornati' has obscured the real point here, just as in XXII.15, 'Gluttons haunt taverns, churches godly men', the pith of the proverb is lost.

Although Brooksbank expressed warmly his indebtedness to Cary, there is no sign of verbal similarity. Indeed, it would have been better if he had studied Cary more closely, for he has quite a few mistakes which do not occur in his predecessor. He has misunderstood, for instance, 'quella pietà che tu per tema senti' (IV.21) for he renders, 'The torments dire . . . have painted on my face / Pity: in thee 'tis terror they inspire'. In XIII.115 he turns 'sinistra costa' into 'luckless coast'; and like Howard and Hume he gets the dykes of XV.10 the wrong way round:

These in such fashion rise above the ground;
But never master, be he who he would,
To rear their like in height or breadth was found.

A few lines further on (XV.58) for 'e s'io non fossi sì per tempo morto' he has 'If in such early youth I had not died', although in a footnote on Brunetto Latini he remarks that he was born early in the century and died shortly before its close. In XVI.20 ff he represents the three spirits as forming their wheel by running round the two poets, a mistake already made by Flaxman in his drawing. There are, however, only about a dozen such slips, and in this respect he compares not unfavourably with Dayman and Cayley.

Brooksbank's footnotes are interesting, not so much because of any light they throw on the Inferno, but because they reveal something of his own outlook and enthusiasms. His first (I.2) says:

The whole Poem is an allegory, and I think we shall not be far wrong if we give an allegorical meaning to every passage at all capable of bearing one.

Fortunately he does not pursue this proposal. At VII.110 he comments, 'What a fine moral is contained in their chants of complaint!', while at

XI.45 ('e piange là dov'esser de' giocondo') the note reads, 'What a grand moral is in this verse! It is the spirit in which Satan walked the garden of Eden: "The fiend / Saw undelighted all delight".' He is an admirer of Tennyson, and with reference to the Ulysses episode he says: 'It is hard to say whether Dante or our own poet has most truly seized the spirit of Homer, in his Appendix to the Odyssey.' Rather superfluously he quotes Tennyson's 'With folded feet, in stoles of white' in support of his own rendering of XVI.136, 'With spreading arms and folded feet it rose'. There is a long footnote to VI.111, referring to the state of the damned 'dopo la gran sentenza'.

A passage from St. Augustine is quoted to explain this: 'Cum fiet . . . tormenta maiora.' Still it appears to me that although this passage may have suggested Dante's, he means far more than that the pains of the damned shall be greater. I think he means that their knowledge and perception shall become finer and wider, and that from being advanced in intelligence, they shall feel more acutely their infamy and their degraded state. Mr Tennyson's line will help to make my idea clearer: 'Like a beast with lower pleasures, like a beast with lower pains.'

Neither Saint Augustine or Dante would have relished much the kind of support given by 'Locksley Hall', but it is evident that Brooksbank is anxious to grasp, however faintly, some kind of larger hope. Bearing in mind that he was writing the Inferno while the controversy over Frederick Denison Maurice's dismissal for heresy was raging, it is not unlikely that ~~he~~ he was ready to second the Poet Laureate in his championship of the Universalist.

In the long article on Dante translations in the Westminster Review (January 1861, pp. 201 ff) the verdict on Brooksbank is:

Mr Brooksbank has produced a very fair translation of the Inferno into the original terza rima. It improves as it goes on, and the concluding cantos form decidedly the best part of it. The requirements of the metre which he has chosen have compelled him, however, to bolster up a great many of his lines in an artificial manner which can scarcely fail to give offence to those who are acquainted with the Italian.

In the similar article on terza rima translations in Blackwood's Magazine (June 1867, pp. 736 ff) Ford and Brooksbank are coupled:

Mr Ford and Mr Brooksbank each present us with a generally correct version of the Inferno. Their work bears the impress of a refined mind, and witnesses to a sympathetic admiration for Dante which is to their credit. It is fairly satisfactory as a rendering of the great master's more level passages, but proves inadequate to follow his loftier flights. Still, while reading their translations we feel that we are listening to scholars and to gentlemen.

Brooksbank's translation must be relegated with others of the mid-century to the lumber-room, but there is none the less something refreshing about his verse and ~~ppose~~ ^{prose} alike in contrast to the polemics and diffuseness of many contemporaries. Although a year or two older than Howard or Cayley when he published his Inferno, he is much more boyish in spirit. He may have realised in the course of his long life that the year and three-quarters which he gave to the translation of the Inferno (always allowing, of course, for that three months during which, he feels obliged to let us know, he was abroad and did not touch it) was a very short time after all in which to 'do one's best' by a poet like Dante. But it is one of the ironies of life that to the young, with so much time before them, a year seems an eternity; age and experience find all too soon how few lie ahead and how short they are.

SIR WILLIAM FREDERICK POLLOCK

The Divine Comedy; or The Inferno, Purgatory, and Paradise, of Dante Alighieri, born MCCLXV, died MCCCXXI, rendered into English by Frederick Pollock, Esq. With fifty illustrations drawn by George Scharf, Junr., engraved by Dalziel. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly, 1854. Large post octavo, pp. xxx, 580. Preface, pp. vii-ix; Notice of Dante (from Villani), pp. xi-xiv; detailed contents, pp. xv-xxvi; list of illustrations, pp. xxvii-xxix; errata (6 entries), p. xxx; English text, printed as continuous blank verse, with white line between paragraphs; each canto has summary at head, and there are numerous brief footnotes, pp. 1-567; index of names, pp. 569-80.

William Frederick Pollock (1815-88) was a member of a brilliant family. His grandfather was David Pollock, saddler to King George III, three of whose sons became baronets: one was Chief-Justice of Bombay; another rose to the rank of Field-Marshal; while the third, Jonathan Frederick, was a senior wrangler at Cambridge, became a barrister, then M.P. and attorney-general, and eventually Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The translator of Dante was the son of the latter, and succeeded to the baronetcy on his father's death in 1870. His two brothers also made their mark in English law: George became a Master of the Supreme Court, and Charles a judge of the High Court and author of several standard legal works. Both the translator's sons achieved legal and literary celebrity: Sir Frederick occupied the chairs of jurisprudence at London and Oxford, published many books, and is perhaps best known for his partnership with Maitland in the History of English Law; Walter, also a lawyer, wrote poetry and literary criticism, edited the Saturday Review for ten years, and was one of the numerous collaborators of Sir Walter Besant.

William Frederick was educated at St. Paul's School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was a younger disciple of the 'band of youthful friends', including Tennyson, Thackeray, Hallam, Trench and others, who,

as In Memoriam records, 'held debate . . . on mind and art'. He became a student of the Inner Temple, was called to the bar in 1838, appointed a Master of the Court of Exchequer in 1846, and Queen's Remembrancer in 1874. He is reputed to have been 'a man of liberal culture and social charm'. Apart from his translation of the Divine Comedy, published in 1854 and never reprinted, he edited Macready's Reminiscences (1876) and published his own Personal Remembrances in 1887.

Pollock's translation is the first in English of a long succession of renderings in 'blank terzine', which aim at preserving the structure of Dante's stanzas at the expense of the rhyme. The form had already gained some popularity in Germany, where it had originated with Philaethes, who had begun to publish his version of the Comedy in 1828, and who already had quite a few followers. The English blank verse translations existing in Pollock's time made no consistent effort to preserve the ternary structure, and he was therefore the first exponent of the system in English. He does not mention the German translators, but he is likely to have known of their work. His brief preface states his intention as follows:

It has been my endeavour in the present version of Dante's great Poem to be strictly literal in the rendering of the original Italian into English of our own times, so far as I found it possible, regard being had to the idioms of the two languages, and to the preservation of a metrical form. To a certain extent also I have tried to represent to the Reader the actual arrangement, as well as the true English equivalent of the original, and I have made it a condition to retain the order and identity of the lines, except where this could not be done without violating more essential requirements.

The example proved popular; during the next dozen years three more renderings on the same principle appeared; and in all there have been ten British and four American translations, either of the Comedy or one

of the cantiche, substantially on the lines of Pollock's. Recently, however, this system, which for convenience we refer to as 'blank terzine' as distinguished from the continuous blank verse of Cary or Bodey, has waned in popularity, and it is now over thirty years since the last translation in English blank terzine was published. Nearly all these versions have been printed either in the familiar Italian style with the second and third lines of each terzina indented, or with a white line separating each group of three verses, and in view of the fundamental importance of the ternary structure this is a much better typographical arrangement than the apparently continuous paragraphs of Pollock's print. Actually his terzine do correspond very closely to Dante's, and he has exactly the same number of lines, although in two cases misprinting of the line numerals produces an apparent discrepancy.

Pollock's volume had a lukewarm reception and never attained popularity, being very shortly superseded by others which made a stronger appeal. Rossetti's remarks on Pollock are quoted in the article dealing with him. Tomlinson, in his notorious preface, found Pollock's blank verse 'smooth and readable, seldom rising into eloquence, and seldom sinking into prose', but he went on for a page and a half pointing out its weaknesses. The Westminster Review (in the 1861 article) gave him very faint praise:

Mr Pollock's work, in blank verse, in spite of occasional grave inaccuracies, presents a pretty literal version of Dante. He has preserved the matter, however, at the expense of a total loss of the form of the original.

The Athenaeum's contemporary review (8th July 1854, pp. 843-4) was fuller and fairer. It conceded to Pollock the 'merits of studious adherence to the words of the text and the elucidation by footnotes of difficulties and allusions', going on to say:

The skeleton of the piece is exhibited with more verbal felicity, perhaps, that has hitherto been attained by any previous translator

in verse: but of the poetic substance of these living features on which the especial type of power and character is outwardly impressed, the resemblance has not been adequately preserved.

It censures gravely Pollock's lack of prosodic skill, quoting numerous lines which are lame or clumsy, but also mentions several good passages, concluding that

Pollock's work shows industry and care, but the spirit, colouring, and beauties are unfelt or at least not conveyed . . . owing to his reliance on the method of verbal instead of virtual translation.

To deal first with Pollock's accuracy, there is certainly a sprinkling of mistranslations, some due to carelessness and some to lack of comprehension; in this respect Pollock might be said to come midway among his predecessors, being more accurate than the worst of them but rather less so than the best. At the same time it is necessary to repeat the warning already given, that contemporary allegations of frequent inaccuracy are to be regarded with caution in this period. Quite often a critic or reviewer of the mid-nineteenth century (and even a bit later) stigmatises a rendering as inaccurate because the reading or interpretation differs from the one with which he is familiar; and at that date, when Dante scholarship had only begun to struggle with textual problems, and reputable commentaries still perpetuated old misunderstandings, the critic might be unaware of such variants. To-day no translator would set about his task armed only with a Biagioli or a Fraticelli edition, and his library would include commentaries ranging over several centuries, the newer ones sifting out and pronouncing on the vagaries of the older. So far as Pollock, pinning his faith to Ciardetti's text of 1830, is concerned, his achievement is quite a creditable one. His mistakes are none the less to be regretted, being often those which betray their author as a gifted amateur rather than a serious student; but little purpose would be served by taking a couple of pages to list them. A few typical examples are given later.

As to the literary value of Pollock's translation, it must be granted that he had no claim to poetic ability, and that dullness is his besetting sin. Cary had been censured for rewriting Dante in the style of Milton; whereas Pollock's chief fault is that he has no style at all. He is content to string his words together to form suitable metrical groups with little regard for the total effect; his vocabulary is selected on the principle of verbal equivalence, and without much sense of evocative value; moreover his ear seems to be defective, for he sets down a lot of intolerably lame lines. But his faults like his virtues are not of the spectacular sort; his translation is but a pedestrian affair, but it contains some pleasant passages and very few odd or jarring ones. We may, without straining our generosity, give him the credit due to a pioneer, remembering that to translate the whole of the Divine Comedy was a more formidable task then that it is today, and also that he should be accorded a modicum of the praise earned by those who followed and improved on him.

The passages from Pollock in Appendix I are quite typical of his average attainment, and show clearly most of his faults. We have ill-chosen and prosaic words, e.g. in Inf. XXVI 'contracted' (line 107) and 'prescribed' (line 108), or 'short address' (line 122); 'regulates' in Par. III.70; 'liberally anticipates' or 'grandeur' (Par. XXXIII.18, 20). We have awkwardness or cacophony as in:

Ye should not choose the knowledge to refuse (Inf. XXVI.116)

The light was of the moon, to us below (Inf. XXVI.131)

Appeared^{so} to me (so may it again) (Purg. II.16)

So that as, throne below throne, we exist (Par. III.82)

There is weakening of the force of the original as in:

As scarcely left a trace upon the waves (Purg. II.42)

that its Fashioner
Did not disdain his own work to become (Par. XXXIII.5-6)

There are also examples of Pollock's irritating use of making words like 'fire' and 'our' monosyllabic or disyllabic at his convenience, irrespective of metrical appropriateness, so that we have in Par. III 'Then our desire would be at variance' in line 74, but 'That our will together may make one' in line 81; line 73 perhaps could be read 'If we desired higher to be placed'. More difficult still to justify is 'And towards the morning turning our poop' (Inf. XXVI.124). This mannerism runs throughout Pollock's translation, and often one must make several attempts at a line to find out how it should be read. It may be noted that Purg. II.35, 'Winnowing the air with the eternal plumes' is identical with Cary save that 'the' is substituted for 'those', but this line and Inf. III.9, 'All hope abandon, ye who enter here' have been copied not only by Pollock but by about half the subsequent translators.

To mention briefly one or two of Pollock's inaccuracies, quite a few of these indicate lack of consideration of the meaning in the context, e.g. the opening of Inf. IX:

Soon as the colour which by fear was chased,
My leader saw returning to my cheeks,
Again his own looks he himself resumed,

or Inf. X.73-5:

That other of great soul, at whose request
I had remained, nor silently looked on,
Nor turned his neck, nor moved in any part,

where 'non mutò aspetto' seems to have been read as 'non muto aspettd', which is both metrically impossible and meaningless. It is perhaps from Flaxman that Pollock got the idea he expresses in Inf. XVI.21, 'The three perpetually round us wheeled', although his absurd drawing of this incident is not among those redrawn by Scharf for Pollock's edition. A moment's con-

sideration would show the impossibility of this interpretation in the physical circumstances of the protagonists. There are a great many small slips, which seem to be due to a hasty reading; a typical case is the rendering of 'dove tempo per tempo si ristora' (Purg. XXIII.84) by 'Where gradually is restoration worked', or the reversal of the sense in Par. XXVIII.19-21:

And like the star which seems from hence the least,
The moon would show if she were placed by this
In the same way as star with star is placed.

Unless 'lurks' is a misprint for 'lacks' the meaning of Par. XXIX.133-5 is far from obvious:

And if thou think'st of that which is revealed
By Daniel, in his thousands thou wilt see
That the exact enumeration lurks.

Word values are often poor, e.g. 'fallen down from that delicious land' (Inf. XXVII.26), 'as it happens with important streams' (Purg. V.121), 'That from the realm their export is forbidden' (Par. I.72). Prosodic values are also shaky; we get such lines as:

With Brunetto, and asked him who might be (Inf. XV.101)

Shown by thee in earth, heaven, and in hell (Inf. XIX.11)

While we were moving thither our forms,
Blessed are the poor in spirit, voices
So sang . . . (Purg. XII.109-11)

Which was the abiding place of our Hope (Par. XXIII.105)

Clumsiness and cacophony are also common, e.g.

And like a man who works, and calculates,
Providing for the future ever seen (Inf. XXIV.25-6)

It is my business Hell to him to show (Inf. XXIX.96)

So more and more the dogs to wolves turned finds (Purg. XIV.50)

And, if in gazing it is seized by it,
This seizure love is; this a nature is
That is by pleasure newly fixed in you. (Purg. XVIII.25-7)

Minerva breathes gales, and Apollo steers (Par. II.8)

Pollock makes a better effort at preserving Dante's characteristic vividness and forcefulness than does, for instance, his predecessor Wright; and occasionally he is quite felicitous in his turn of phrase. The following are a few extracts which bear this out.

So we our way took through the scattered waste
Of rocks that often were to motion stirred
Under my feet, by the unwonted weight.

(Inf. XII.28-30)

Like unto sheep that issue from the fold
By one, by two, by three, while stand the rest
Frightened, and turn to earth the eye and nose:
And what the first does, so do all the rest,
Crowding upon his back, if he should stop,
Artless and meek nor know the reason why.

(Purg. III.79-84)

E'en as the lark that floating in the air
First sings awhile, then pauses satisfied
On the last sweetness that gives full content.

(Par. XX.73-5)

Before the sun so fades away the snow;
Before the wind so on the flying leaves
Was scattered wide the Sibyl's oracle.

(Par. XXXIII.64-6)

On the other hand, there are many instances of weakening, e.g.

Which all the ill of all the world confines

(Inf. VII.18)

With gentlest motion, wafted on, he went

(Inf. XVII.115)

the name

That ever in my mind is uppermost

(Purg. XXVII.41-2)

And such an access of desire came on
To be above . . .

(Purg. XXVII.121-2)

And thereon all those living splendences,
In far more brightness, entered upon songs
That from my memory are lapsed and gone.

(Par. XX.10-12)

For one of the most favourable examples of Pollock's sustained style, we quote Par. XXIII.46-69.

Like to a man was I, what time he wakes
From unremembered visions, and who tries
In vain to bring them back into his thoughts,
When I this proffer heard, that worthy was
Of such acceptance, as will never fade
From out the volume which reviews the past.
If all the languages could sound again

Which Polyhymnia with her sisters made
With their most sweet milk more luxuriant,
To aid me, to a thousandth of the truth
They could not reach, singing the holy smile,
And how it perfect made her sacred face.
And thus, as I prefigure Paradise,
My sacred poem here must take a leap,
Like one who finds his road is cut away:
But whoso thinks upon the weighty theme,
And on the mortal shoulders charged with it,
Will not upbraid, if under it they tremble.
No voyage is it for a little bark,
This which is opened by my daring prow,
Nor for a sailor who himself would spare.

A word may be said as to the illustrations in this volume. The title page is rather unfortunately worded, as it might lead one to suppose that the drawings are original. They are in fact all copies, and duly referred to their origin in the list of illustrations. No fewer than thirty-one out of the fifty are direct reproductions of Flaxman's sketches, and Volkmann in his Iconografia dismissed the volume with the slighting reference: 'und endlich ist eine illustrierte Dante-Ausgabe von George Scharf (1820-95) nichts weiter als eine Kopie nach Flaxman', evidently not realising that it did not profess to be anything else. The other nineteen are various; there are three diagrams from Bähr's 1852 volume; several frescos, mosaics and coins; and one or two direct reminiscences of the artist's own residence in Italy. So far as Scharf's responsibility goes, the drawings are tastefully and competently done in the style of the time. The wisdom of having laid Flaxman so heavily under contribution is doubtful; but these sketches are the kind of embellishment that may well have appealed to an amateur of the arts like Pollock. The verdict of the Westminster Review that they 'are mere blots on the page, and had far better be omitted' was unnecessarily scathing. The word 'blots' was not an apt one to describe Scharf's delicate reproductions of Flaxman's spirits and ministers of the other world.

BRUCE WHYTE

A Free Translation, in verse, of the 'Inferno' of Dante, with a Preliminary Discourse and Notes by Bruce Whyte, Advocate, Author of 'A History of the Romance Tongues and their Literature'. London: Wright & Co., 60, Pall Mall, and Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Stationers' Hall Court. 1859. Royal octavo, pp. xxxi, 158. Preliminary Discourse, pp. i-xxxi; English text, pp. 1-158. There are no arguments, and although 'Notes' are mentioned on the title page, there is nothing to fulfil the promise except ~~three~~ footnotes, none of which is particularly relevant.

Little is known of this translator. Toynbee gives his name as A. Bruce Whyte in D.E.L. vol. II, p. 657 but reverts to Bruce Whyte in B.T.D. and Dante Studies (1921). No dates for his life are available. The other work referred to on the title page was Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature depuis leur Origine jusqu'au XIVe Siècle (3 vols., Paris, 1841). According to Toynbee, Whyte was resident in France for some time, and finding it difficult to get an English work published in Paris, he had his book turned into French, retaining the poetical examples in English. There is a general resemblance between the English versions of Dante in the 1841 volume and the translation of 1859, but in the main the latter is greatly revised. Whyte's Histoire, like his Inferno, seems to be mainly interesting as a curiosity. Whyte, says Toynbee, was convinced that Dante knew Greek and had read the Iliad in the original, and he quotes the statement: 'Plusieurs des plus remarquables comparaisons dans la Divine Comédie sont littéralement traduites de l'Iliade'.

Bruce Whyte's Inferno is certainly one of the most peculiar performances in the annals of Dante translation. Its value, whether regarded as a translation, a paraphrase, or a poem, was tersely stated by the Athenaeum reviewer (9th July 1859, pp. 44-5): 'the less that is said of it the better'. He goes on in an ironic strain:

The author soars to a height almost unknown in the regions of poetry, and is lost to the sight of the humble observer, desirous to trace his course through indefinite space.

Spelling, punctuation and accuracy all come in for adverse criticism. The Westminster Review in the article of January 1861 said:

Mr Bruce Whyte's 'free translation' is readable in some parts, though perhaps scarcely worthy of being read. He has added and left out and spoiled a great portion of the original, so that the work is in pretty strict accordance with the title he has selected.

The two extracts in Appendix I give some idea of the kind of flights in which Whyte indulges. If the reader has patience to reach the point where Francesca tells how 'the longing Lancelot applied / His lips to hers', he will probably have a quite definite answer to the question three lines lower down: 'need I more recite?'

For convenience the metre of the translation has been classed as 'defective terza rima', but this is a very approximate description. Originally Whyte's idea seems to have been to render each pair of *terzine* by six lines rhymed a b a b a b ; often, however, he gets the sense of Dante's six lines into five, making a unit of a b a b a ; occasionally he has a quatrain a b a b. Quite often, however, his metrical unit gets out of step with the Italian, and there is no direct relation between his rhyme groups and Dante's *terzine*. Now and again he throws in an unrhymed line. Alexandrines are frequently mixed with his pentameters, and there are occasional lines of eight or nine syllables. Occasionally too there are short passages with genuine *terza rima* arrangement, but the only sustained one is in canto XXX extending to twenty-seven lines. There are numerous feminine rhymes, but most of these, and many of the ordinary rhymes, are imperfect, e.g. 'musest - accusest - presumest', 'counterfeit - renegade - execrate', while 'king - rejoicing - thing' is a frequent type.

Whyte's long and involved Preliminary Discourse opens in aggressive style; here and elsewhere his bête noire is Biagioli.

It has been the singular fortune of Dante to have suffered more from the extravagant eulogium of his Italian commentators than from the severest criticism of foreigners. There is not a nauseous or indecent allusion, an obscure ellipsis, a prolix or irrelative description, a scholastic subtlety, a quaint or puerile conceit, in the Divine Comedy which the Biagiolis of Italy have not attempted to justify, which they do not extol, nay sometimes propose for imitation. What has been the consequence? The majority of readers, who peruse a poem not as a task but for amusement, finding these defects (and they are numerous) obtruded on notice and the objects of panegyric, are apt to infer that the poem contains nothing really worthy of admiration, and they discard it as a monstrous production of the middle ages. Disgusted with the ogives, the minute and clustered columns, the niches overloaded with statues in some Gothic cathedral, they leave it without bestowing a thought on its grandeur and solidity. This is precisely what has happened to Dante. It is high time therefore to allow him to speak for himself, to read his poem without the aid of this class of commentators.

This is followed by a protest against the habit of finding allegory everywhere in the Divine Comedy, illustrated at length with examples; then he goes on to speak of the beauties of the poem.

We have said enough to convince the reader that we have no desire to disguise or slur over its defects. We frankly admit that its author is, at once, the most prolix and elliptical of Italian poets. Endued with unparalleled powers of description, he often indulges them to excess, regardless whether they are apposite or not; and, provided the object depicted starts palpably from the canvass, he frequently invests it with revolting, and occasionally with indecent accessories.

He summarises and comments on various passages, bestowing high and sometimes discerning praise, but censuring severely such verses as the description of the harlot Thaïs, of the impostors in canto XX, of Malacoda's signal at the end of canto XXI, and of Lucifer in canto XXXIV after line 52. The Francesca, Farinata, Capaneus and Ugolino incidents are praised; and some ('homely' similes, e.g. the purblind tailor of XV.21 and the frogs of XXII.25-8, are defended against their critics. A digression of many pages follows on the development of the Gai-Saber from Latin, and on Dante's role as the inventor of the literary idiom of Italy; taken no doubt from the Histoire already referred to. Finally comes a statement about the translation:

We beg, however, permission to say a word or two touching the translation, not with a view of disarming criticism, but to submit to competent judges the principles on which it has been conducted, and the omissions which cannot escape observation. We have considered it both as the privilege and duty of a translator to rectify any mistakes on point of fact; to explain palpable ellipses; to neglect or curtail passages of mere verbiage; and to omit altogether descriptions or allusions of an obscene or revolting nature.

He goes on to say that he has cut out the catalogue of names in ^{to}canet IV; curtailed that of the arsenal of Venice, 'admirable in itself but quite irrelative', in canto XXI; and abbreviated many of the transmutations in canto XXV which 'in prolixity and obscurity leave Ovid at an infinite distance behind them'.

These clues avail little to explain the translation itself, and in some respects are quite deceptive. Whyte does indeed omit lines 121-47 of canto IV; but lines 7-15 of canto XXI describing the arsenal are rendered in full; and the only omission in canto XXV is of lines 115-7, made no doubt owing to the implied indecency of 'lo membro che l'uom cela'. As might be expected lines 136-9 of canto XXI are represented merely by

The fiends the signal gave
And turning to the left pursued their way,

followed by two rows of dots. A strange confusion prevails near the beginning of canto XXVIII. After line 24 we find:

'Behold,' he cried, 'how Mahomet is rent!'
His bowels 'twixt his thighs were evident:
His heart was visible and all within.

Then come two rows of dots, followed by the first of the three lines above repeated, and following on with line 32. This has evidently arisen from an ill-executed attempt to remove the 'revolting' parts from the description.

There are other omissions which seem due to inadvertence or carelessness. Lines 81-3 of canto XXXIV are not translated, and canto IX ends abruptly at line 123. Canto ^XX begins: 'The path thro' which we pass'd,

as I have said . . . ', but this conveys nothing to the reader, since it refers to the missing line 133; moreover the omission results in there being no reference at all to the fact that this circle contains heretics.

The entire execution of the translation, however, is on the same level of confusion. Lines are transposed, emphases moved, similes changed, on no apparent principle and much to the detriment of sense and significance. This produces some truly remarkable passages. If we turn to the episode of Farinata in which, according to the Preliminary Discourse, 'there is not a word which the most fastidious critic would wish to be retrenched', we are astonished to read (X.28 ff):

Sudden I heard these accents emanate
From one the nearest tomb. Trembling my chief I sought,
Who thus reprov'd me: 'Why dost hesitate?
What cause of fear? Art thou deceived in aught?
Lo! Farinata deigns to elevate
His head sublime; if courteously besought,
His bust he will display.' - Counsell'd, I gaz'd
With wonder on the shade, whose brow and breast
Seem'd to defy the demons they amaz'd.

Canto XIX is likewise chaotic, and even the most hardened reader of translations is likely to be shaken by finding lines 88 ff written in dialogue:

I ask'd the ghost,
(Too confident, perhaps,) what sum of gold
Did holy Peter's sacred office cost?
Did Christ bestow the keys, or were they sold?
'It cost him not a doit. Christ only said
"Follow me!".' 'When good Matthias was enroll'd
To fill the void caus'd by the renegade,
The traitor Judas, what did they require?'
'Nothing!' 'Then bide! Thy crimes are well repaid.'

The Ugolino episode is equally productive of shocks; perhaps the worst is the appeal of the children (XXXIII.61-3):

We should less deplore
If our dear father would our bodies take,
And feed on them; our flesh was thine before,
Then take it back again, at least partake.

The last three words are worthy of the Ingoldsby Legends.

A few isolated curiosities may be added for their entertainment value:

I strove to pace
Up the steep mountain's brow, one foot in air,
And one behind. (I.29-30)

Men, women, children of each age and size (IV.30)

Long time he tarried not, an hour or so (VIII.113)

O ye who pow'rful intellects possess,
Divine the moral these poor rhymes include;
Occult it is, but it exists no less. (IX.61-3)

So Geryon, when no recompense he gets,
Fretful, beholds us from his back alight,
And swifter than an arrow vanishes from sight! (XVII.133-6)

Christ! how they made them reel! no need there was
Of second lesson. (XVIII.37)

Learn that this Ptolemy (our prisoner's name)
This privilege enjoys (XXXIII.124)

Probably the last example contains a misprint and should read 'prison's'.

Oddities of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely. The end of canto XXXI is amusing. Describing Antaeus (line 114) Whyte had said that he 'projected, like a mainmast in extent', so that when he reached the last line, 'e come albero in nave si levò', he found that he had already used the mast; but his resource was equal to the occasion, and he rendered: (Like some tall admiral he tow'r'd sublime'.

Whyte is repeatedly guilty of 'painting the lily' by introducing his own ornamentation, invariably destroying in the process the real force of the passage, and often padding out with clichés. So we have:

All the gold that lies
In richest coffers, all the mines conceal,
Cannot one atom of the pains abate
These wearied spirits are condemn'd to feel. (VII.64-6)

These words of Maro fail'd not to beget
An ardent wish that he would tell me more (XIV.91-3)

As he who dreams he nods on an abyss,
And fain would hope 'tis nothing but a dream,
Yet shudders at the fancied precipice;
So fain was I my chief's reproof to deem,
So strove in vain my terror to dismiss. (XXX.136-41)

In spite of Whyte's authoritative tone, his Italian scholarship shows signs of incompleteness. In VIII.1145 'Chiuser le porte que' nostri avversari' becomes 'barr'd the gates against their deadliest foe'. He has misunderstood XVI.118-20, which is rendered:

Ah me! how confident should mortals be
In those rare spirits, who before th' event
In Wisdom's mirror its reflection see!

The sense of XXII.116-7 likewise vanishes:

Shouldst thou prefer the bank, we'll struggle there,
And see if thou canst baffle Hell and me!

Ludicrously expressed is XXIII.41-2:

Caring alone for him, the rest she leaves,
With but one shift to veil their nudity,

where at first reading one pardonably associates 'their' with 'the rest'.

Like many other translators Whyte spoils XXXIII.116-7 by rendering:

if I deny,
May I for ever by thy side be laid.

A few lines further on, he is completely at sea as to Michael Zanche in 142-7, and the last line of the canto, 'ed in corpo par vivo ancor di sopra', astonishingly becomes 'Whilst his vile body yet is glorified'. Sometimes Whyte is so incoherent that it is impossible to tell whether he is misunderstanding or inventing, as in X.127-9:

'Thy reason, I perceive,
Is wilder'd by the evils he denounc'd.
Be not alarm'd; deceiv'd he may deceive!'
And here he rais'd his finger and announc'd
Tidings of joy.

The three footnotes already mentioned tend to increase the general

confusion. The first (XII.120) inveighs against the Italian commentators for identifying Guy de Montfort's victim with Henry III of England. This mistake was actually made, but it had long been corrected by all reliable writers and editors. The second footnote is on XIX.77 ('colui ch'i' credea che tu fossi'), and purports to throw light on 'this obscure passage'. The whole episode is already hopelessly confused in the translation, and the so-called explanation only serves to complicate matters further. The third note is on XXVI.10-12, 'E se già fosse . . . ', which are translated:

Since come it must, would I might witness here
Its full accomplishment, ere Time subdued
My sense of wrong, and finish my career.

The note says that 'this enigma' is unintelligible in Italian, and a literal translation will make it still more so in English. The wordy sentences which follow fail to convey what the translator is trying to clarify; and at the end of the note Dante's words are referred to as an 'ebullition of spite'.

JOHN WESLEY THOMAS

The Trilogy; or Dante's Three Visions. Inferno, or The Vision of Hell: translated into English, in the metre and triple rhyme of the original; with notes and illustrations, by the Rev. John Wesley Thomas. London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden. 1859. Large post octavo, pp. li, 356. Dedication (to students of Dante), p. iii; original sonnet, p. iv; preface, pp. v-x (dated from Penrith); Names of Subscribers, pp. xi-xvii; 'On the title of this Translation', pp. xix-xx; Explanation of the frontispiece, pp. xxi-xxiii; Sketch of the Life and Times of Dante, pp. xxiv-xl; 'On the religious opinions of Dante', pp. xli-xlvi; 'The time of Dante's Vision', pp. xlviii-l; Notice to the Reader (including key to pronunciation), p. li; English text, printed in terzine, with argument at head of each canto, and footnotes, pp. 1-356. The frontispiece is a digram by the translator, illustrating Dante's system of the universe, lithographed in colour; the only other illustration in the book is a medallion of Dante's head on the title page.

The Trilogy; or Dante's Three Visions. Part II. Purgatorio, or The Vision of Purgatory (rest of title page, format, etc., as Vol. I). 1862. pp. xxxii, 272. Dedication (to Garibaldi), p. iii; original sonnet, p. iv; preface (dated from Leek), pp. v-vi; 'On the Catholicism of Dante', pp. vii-xi; 'On the doctrine of Purgatory and its origin', pp. xii-xxiii; 'On the figurative senses of Dante's poem', pp. xxiv-xxvii; 'On the style of Dante', pp. xxviii-xxx; Time Table of Purgatorio, p. xxxi; Plan of Purgatorio, p. xxxii; English text, pp. 1-272. The only illustration in this book is a (different from Vol. I) medallion of Dante's head on the title page.

The Trilogy; or Dante's Three Visions. Part III. Paradiso, or The Vision of Paradise (rest of title page, format, etc., as Vol. I). 1866. pp. xix, 296, 4. Dedication (to the memory of departed friends and relatives), p. iii; original sonnet, p. iv; preface (n.d.), pp. v-x; Names of Subscribers, pp. xi-xvi; 'On Paradise', pp. xvii-xix; English text, pp. 1-286; index of proper names, pp. 287-96; Publications of the Rev. J. W. Thomas (including numerous extracts from press reviews and private letters regarding this translation), pp. 1-4. The frontispiece is a two-colour lithograph of Ary Scheffer's painting of Dante and Beatrice to illustrate Par. I; the only other illustration is a line block of the Giotto fresco of Dante on the title page.

N.B. The advertisement at the end of the last-mentioned volume states that the Inferno is already out of print, but that a second edition will be published as soon as a sufficient number of Subscribers have been obtained. No record of further impressions in Bohn's Libraries is available, but there may have been some reprints.

There have been two further editions of this translation. It was published by Robert Culley, 25-35 City Road, London, E.C. in 'The Finsbury Library' (1910, but undated) in three volumes, post octavo, with a brief note on the translator by the Rev. John Telford, editor of the series, and with

a very much shortened version of the 'Life and Times of Dante' in the first volume; all other preliminary matter is omitted, and the notes throughout are considerably abridged. Another edition was published by Charles H. Kelly, London, in the 'Every Age' Library (1914, but undated) in three volumes, foolscap octavo, with similar abridgement of preliminary matter and notes.

John Wesley Thomas (1798-1872) was born at Exeter, where his father was a Wesleyan local preacher, and he himself spent his life in the Wesleyan ministry, occupying various charges; his death took place at Dumfries. Although largely self-educated, he succeeded in amassing an enormous fund of knowledge, and in becoming a considerable linguist. Throughout his life he was engaged in literary work of one kind and another. His first enterprise was An Apology for Don Juan ('that licentious poem' he calls it elsewhere), partly appreciation and partly criticism of Byron, written in ottava rima (1825, continued 1850, revised 1855). Lyra Britannica (1850) is an anthology, with some original poems added, in which full justice is done to Byron; the Divine Comedy came next, then a pamphlet, The Lord's Day or the Christian Sabbath (1865), a volume of Poems (1867), a satiric poem, The War of the Surplice (1871), in which he found the quarrels of Henry Philpotts, Bishop of his own native Exeter, with his clergy some twenty-five years earlier, an easy target for ridicule; The Tower, the Temple, and the Minster, a descriptive and historical study of the Tower of London, Saint Paul's and Westminster Abbey; and William the Silent, a biography of the Prince of Orange, both appeared posthumously in 1873. We shall reserve comment on Thomas's literary ability in other directions until we have dealt with his translation of Dante, when we shall take up the difficult question of his reputation.

Thomas defends the rather cumbrous title given to his translations in several hundred words prefixed to the first volume, rejecting the tradi-

tional name on various grounds. The title was repeated in the 1910 reprint, but dropped in 1914. The book was published by subscription in the first instance, the original list at the beginning of the Inferno occupying six and a half pages. The Purgatorio contains a notice to the effect that the names of many additional subscribers have been received and that a complete list will be published in the third volume; but although the final list at the beginning of the Paradiso does in fact contain numerous additional names, many of the original ones have dropped out, and it is shorter by half a page. The list includes a sprinkling of the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal; the clergy are well represented, and there are two other Dante translators: Charles Bagot Cayley (in the first list only) and William Frederick Pollock (in both).

In the preface to the Inferno Thomas says that when he began his work he was unacquainted with any other English translation, but ~~that~~ he had later met with Cary's, to whose notes he expresses indebtedness; until ~~he~~ he had completed the Inferno he had no access to any other. He then lays down two principles of translation: first, to give the sense correctly; and second, 'to unite with a version almost literal the form, the beauty, and the spirit of the original'. He then comments briefly on several of his predecessors. Boyd's version is dismissed contemptuously; Cary's and Pollock's, being in blank verse, 'can give the reader no idea of Dante's music'; Wright's fails through using the wrong rhyme scheme; Carlyle's is 'avowedly a mere prose version'.

Dayman's, Brooksbank's, and Cayley's, as they are the latest, so they are the only ones we have met with, in which the triple rhyme of the original has been adopted, and unquestionably they have their separate excellencies, as well as faults. Yet notwithstanding the competing claims of these widely differing translations, the author of the present version found that his own had so little in common with any other, that he deems himself justified in presenting it to the public.

Attention is then drawn to the copious notes, 'the result of many years' reading, observation, and reflection'.

Besides original remarks and criticisms, the notes contain such passages of the Classics, the Scriptures, and the Christian Fathers, as are alluded to by Dante; quotations from the Medieval writers of all classes; and many specimens of the Popular Mythology, so long prevalent in Europe, and not yet wholly extinct. For want of such illustration, many parts of Dante have hitherto remained obscure.

A short appreciation of Dante as poet and prophet follows.

The short preface to the Purgatorio refers first to the favourable manner in which the Inferno has been received, and then to the attractions of the later parts of the poem. A couple of pages are devoted to an essay 'On the style of Dante', consisting mainly of quotations from Macaulay, and ending with a description of a visit paid to Lord Brougham's Westmoreland seat, and his enthusiasm for the Divine Comedy. The Purgatorio had been dedicated to Garibaldi, and the preface to Paradiso, after referring to the sexcentenary celebrations and the discovery of Dante's skeleton, triumphantly reprints the Italian patriot's short acknowledgment of the dedication.

The translation itself is in terza rima, and on the whole the terzine correspond with those of the original, though some liberties are taken, e.g. Thomas loses a line at Inf. XXII.106, and has to make it up by telescoping 118-20 into two lines. His rhyming habits are careless; sometimes there is an obvious error through lack of revision, as in Inf. XXVI.74 where '(dis-course' should have rhymed with 'consonance - advance'. Purg. XXIX.74 reads 'Leaving the air along their track so painted', but is rhymed with 'were - fair', having evidently originally been intended to end with 'air'. There are all sorts of liberties, e.g. 'subjected' rhymed with 'read', 'down' with 'round', 'doubled' with 'coupled'. The most annoying feature is Thomas's double rhymes, which grow more frequent as the poem proceeds, and particularly disfigure the Paradiso. Thus Malebolge is rhymed with 'told ye', and

similarly we have 'cheery - dreary - Miserere', 'Polycletus - greet us - seat us', 'Guido - heed to - seed to', 'huge is - Bruges - judges', 'immortal - portal - court all', 'Ubaldo - all do - Gualdo', 'Thomas - promise - from us', and so on ad nauseam. It can be imagined that the sense and form of Dante are rather strained by these devices; their occurrence is almost incredibly frequent in the Paradiso, and the examples below ^{is} ~~are~~ typical of many *terzine*. (Par. XV.82-7):

Hence as a mortal this disparity
I feel, yet though for thanks my tongue no trope has,
My heart shall own thy blest paternity.
And now my earnest prayer to thee this scope has,
Make me acquainted fully with thy name,
Gem of this jewell'd cross, O living topaz!

See also in Appendix I 'my fair foe' (Inf. XXVI.91); and the terrible consequences of getting in the word poop in Purg. II.43 - the angelic boat 'makes a swoop' while the well-born spirits 'droop'.

Thomas mixes archaisms of all sorts with colloquial expressions, producing many strange effects, ranging from mere flatness to sheer absurdity. The poets in Limbo (Inf. IV.104-5) go

Talking of things which now I may not name,
Though utter'd then with strict propriety.

In the description of Fortune (Inf. VIII) we get such stilted lines as 'Who like the snake in grass holds occult place' (84) or 'Of those who change require so throng'd the train' (90). Although the second person singular is used throughout, an odd instance of the plural crops up from time to time like 'As you shall hear me prove convincingly' (Inf. XI.33). Inf. XXIII.42 is a tricky line, but Thomas's 'So that a nightdress her sole vest she makes' is perhaps as bad an effort as can be found before Louis How discovered that 'camicia' means 'chemise'. When Geryon (Inf. XVII. 102) sets out on his voyage we read, 'And feeling 'twas "all right", him-

self he frees'. In Purg. VIII Sordello assures the poets of the souls in the valley 'To see you they will be much gratified' (45) while in line 53 Dante is 'much gratified' to find Nino in Purgatory. Purg. XIII opens:

We now had reach'd the summit of the stair,
Where the huge mount a second parting finds,
For disinfecting those ascending there.

To the opportunity of a rhyme for 'Mainardi' we owe Purg. XIV.99, 'O Romagnese, in bastardy how hardy!'; while in Purg. XXIII.30 we have 'When Mary her son's flesh for breakfast used'. Virgil tells Dante in Purg. XXVII.117 that those pleasant fruits long sought by mortals 'This day will pacify thy hungry maw'. Piccarda informs Dante (Par. III.118) 'A view of the great Constance here thou hast'. The opening of Par. XXVII is:

'Glory to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit',
All Paradise began to sing; a strain
So passing sweet my senses reel'd to hear it.

The following are all from Par. XVI:

And as more beautiful to sight he grew,
Even so with sweeter, softer accents there he
Replied; not in our modern speech, 'tis true: -
'Since that same day when Gabriel said, "Hail Mary",
Till my own birth relieved with comfort sweet
My sainted mother's anguish temporary . . .'

(31-6)

Far better had those towns a space between ye
And them, and that with limits at Galuzzo
And Trespian still, the present hour had seen ye,
Than have to bear, within your city shut so,
The stench of Signa's and Aguglion's hind,
Who with keen eye for traffic now doth strut so!

(52-7)

And the blind bull will much more quickly fall,
Than the blind lamb; and often practically a
Sword singly wounds more than fine words will gall.

(70-2)

The ingenious combination at the end of line 71 is to rhyme with Urbisaglia and Sinigaglia. Perhaps the height of Thomas's inventiveness is reached in Par. XXIX.97-108:

One says, the Moon drew back, and interposed
Her orb when ~~Christ~~ was slain, and that the Sun did
Not shine below, his beams thus undisclosed.
Others, that of its own accord absconded
The light, so that the eclipse in Spain and India,
With that seen in Judea corresponded.
Florence has not of Lapi and of Bindi a
Number so great as these with fables swarm,
With which from pulpits yearly ye are dinn'd: yea,
The sheep, who swallow all without alarm,
Know not that they with wind alone are fed,
Yet not excused that they see not their harm.

These gymnastics are not confined to double rhymes, e.g. to rhyme with
'come - dumb' Inf. V.30 becomes 'While warring winds howl their prelude'.
'E io dietro mi mossi' in Inf. XVIII.21 is rendered 'while after him I bound'.
From the later cantiche the following examples are culled:

Thy wish to learn who I am I'll allay.
I'm Guido Guinicelli, early purged
Thus, through repentance ere my latest day. (Purg. XXVI.91-3)

Then, as by force, my look made versatile
Swerved towards those goddesses, upon the left,
Whence 'Ah, too fix'd thy gaze!' they cried erewhile.
(Purg. XXXII.7-9)

Now on my lady's face mine eyes again
Were fixed intently, and my mind the same,
So that no other thing they noticed then.
She smiled not now; but thus commenced the dame,
'If I had smiled, thou wouldst have reach'd thine end
Like Semelë, when ashes she became;
Because my charms, when up the stair I wend
Of the eternal palace, as thou hast
Perceived, shine more the higher I ascend. (Par. XXI.1-9)

It seems that often Thomas, having found a suitable word for the new rhyme
in the middle line of a *terzina*, simply twists the next one to suit it.

He is also an inveterate padder. Instances will already have been
noticed; here are a few more.

Which each must pass who fears not God our Rock
(ch' attende ciascun uom che Dio non teme) (Inf. III.108)

Let Lucan rest in mute repose profound
(Taccia Lucano) (Inf. XXV.94)

and see, on silent pinions borne
From service, Day's sixth handmaid homeward fly (Purg. XII.80-1)
(vedi che torna
del servizio dal dì l'ancella sesta)

From Nature's birth till darkness hides her grave (Par. VII.112)
(Nè tra l'ultima notte e 'l primo die)

Cacophony is frequent. There are ugly monosyllabic lines like 'And
then for ever plunged in such dire bath' (Inf. XII.51) or 'Sure my fierce
wife hurt more than aught beside' (Inf. XVI.45). Manfred's speech in Purg.
III suffers badly from this:

My sins were horrible beyond all bounds,
But Goodness Infinite an arm doth own
So great, whoe'er turn to it it surrounds. (121-3)

Yet by their curse we are not quite so lost
But that Eternal Mercy from on high
Can save, while hope the least green bloom can boast. (153-5)

The vile jingle of Purg. XII.49-51 is worse than jarring:

The hard pavement further yet made evident
Alcinaon, whose resentment made so dear
His mother's lamentable ornament.

And what is to be made of a line like Purg. XXXI.15 - 'To hear it it was
needful too to see'?

Occasional gratuitous ornament of the pseudo-poetical kind appears.
In Inf. XVI.122 'che il tuo pensier sogna' becomes 'thy fancy's waking
dream'. Dante fears regarding the Malebranche that 'Their breasts will
doubtless be with anguish torn' ('ch' assai credo che lor nòì', Inf. XXIII.
15). The plain statement of Inf. XXXI.109 'Allor temett' io più che mai
la morte' is turned to 'Death never seemed so dread as at that hour'. Purg.
VIII.15, 'che fece me a me uscir di mente' becomes 'They made my ravished
soul with transport glow'. 'Diffusing fragrance round' in Purg. XXII.132
is probably a reminiscence of Morison in Scottish Paraphrases. 'Yet black
with shade its limpid waves decline' is offered as a substitute for

'avvegna che si mova bruna bruna' in Purg. XXVIII.31: while 'La pena dunque che la croce porse' of Par. VII.40 becomes the punishment 'which wrapp'd the cross in mortal gloom'.

We could go on enumerating Thomas's defects at still greater length, for he commits almost every fault that could be thought of; but more than enough e/ has been said already, nor would the matter have been dealt with at such length but for the reputation that this rendering has acquired in certain quarters. Before leaving matters of style it is pleasant to be able to quote one or two lines which stand out as well executed against the depressing background of mediocrity and worse. They are not numerous, and perhaps owe their distinction as much to the contrasting context as to their merits. Considering the poor job made of La Pia (Purg. V.130-6) by many writers, Thomas's is quite respectable:

'When to the world returning thou art led,
And hast reposed from this long voyaging,
Following the second the third spirit said,
'Me, who am Pia, to remembrance bring.
Siena gave, Maremma took my life:
He knows it, who with his own jewell'd ring,
Erst on my finger placed, made me his wife.'

In spite of a word or two of padding, Par. XIV.109-17 is worth quoting:

From horn to horn, and twixt the top and base,
The lights are seen with scintillation strong,
Meeting and passing as they swiftly pace:
Thus we on earth see atoms glance along,
Changing each instant, meeting or apart,
Both swift and slow, a gay and glittering throng,
Move in the slanting ray straight or athwart,
Edging the shade which men against the sun
Contrive with ingenuity and art.

Par. XXXIII is very unequal, but lines 55-66 represent Thomas ~~at~~ at his best:

Henceforth too vast for speech was my survey,
At such a sight my efforts I give o'er,
And memory with so great a strain gives way.
As he who sleeping hath some scene before
His eyes, and when the dream is past retains
The impression, but the rest returns no more;

So 'tis with me; for though the vision wanes,
The sweet born from it, when 'tis nearly gone,
Distilling yet within my heart remains.
So melts away the snow before the sun;
Thus when the wind had made the light leaves fly,
The Sibyl's oracles were all undone.

As to Thomas's accuracy, although he does not often mistranslate, he is often careless or slovenly in his phrasing, so that he consistently distorts and weakens Dante's forceful language. For ^{example} ~~instance~~, we get many instances like 'From whom no grieving tear is seen to glide' for 'e per dolor non par lagrima spanda' (Inf. XVIII.84) and 'My tears gushed forth upon me from their source' for 'per li occhi fui di greve dolor munto' (Purg. XIII.57). His translation of 'perchè' is often wrong; he puts 'because' for 'whereby' and vice versa. Hasty or careless reading seems to be responsible for such a *terzina* as Inf. XXXI.97-9:

'I wish, if possible,' to him I said,
'What of the immense Briareus can be
May be the next before my eyes display'd',

or for 'When I a hasty glance around could dart' = 'Quand' io m'ebbi dintorno alquanto visto' (Inf. XXXII.40). Such carelessness is common in Thomas; so in Purg. IV.125 'quiritta' is rendered 'upright' - 'Why sitt'st thou here upright?' - the very thing Belacqua is not doing. A few lines further on 'Prima convien che tanto il ciel m'aggiri / di fuor da essa' becomes rather fatuously 'First, round its outside, heaven with motion slow / Must bear me'. Thomas makes the common mistake about the August clouds in Purg. V.40. Purg. VI.26, 'Who merely prayed that other men might pray' is shown by a footnote to be a Protestant disapproval of prayers for the dead rather than a misinterpretation of the emphasis in 'che pregar pur ch' altri prieghi'. The strange wording of Purg. XXVIII.44, 'if I may trust the sighs', must be a misprint for 'these eyes' which may have arisen in dictation. A few dozen such slips are scattered throughout.

Thomas's voluminous preliminary matter and notes, the principal feature of which is the militant evangelicalism of his church and age, contribute little to the value of his work, and have been wisely and ruthlessly abridged by later editors. His anti-Roman prejudices are very violent, and often expressed with crude contempt and satire. He desires to claim Dante as a 'morning star of the Reformation', and in the article preceding *Purgatorio*, 'On the Catholicism of Dante', he tabulates twelve important resemblances between Dante and Wiclif. Elsewhere he adduces parallels between Dante and Luther. His essay 'On the Religious Opinions of Dante' in his first volume contains the somewhat question-begging assertion that Par. XXIV 'clearly proves that the poet held the great doctrine of the Reformation, Salvation through faith in Christ'. This unfortunate mode of expression, and others like it, drew the wrath of some critics; and at the beginning of the *Purgatorio* Thomas refers sarcastically to an article in the Westminster Review (quoted below). As might be expected, the doctrine of Purgatory and of prayers for the dead cause him much worry; and he devotes two other preliminary essays to explaining them away as far as possible. The one entitled 'On the Doctrine of Purgatory' is a rough and powerful polemic, in which the errors of Rome are pilloried and satirised in a fashion reminiscent of Swift, of whom elsewhere Thomas expresses appreciation, although his own favourite weapon is the bludgeon rather than the stiletto. The essay on the 'Life and Times of Dante' and the notes contain the usual essentials, without any special originality of presentation; the latter also include in good measure the quotations promised in the preface. They are indeed almost bewildering in their variety, and sometimes their connexion with the poem is rather tenuous. Thomas considerably mentions that in quoting from the Classics he has given a literal translation for the benefit of the general reader, adding

a reference 'which will enable the learned reader to turn to the original'. A great part of the notes is taken up with continuing the war against Rome and setting forth the sounder theology of Protestantism, but this portion is almost entirely omitted from the later editions. We may quote a few of the curiosities with which the first edition teems. In a long note on Inf.

XXII.128 we are given the following reassurance:

There is no ground for believing that 'the devil and his angels' are to be the official punishers of sin in the future world. Wicked men will be associated with them in misery, not punished by them (Matt. xxv.41); although, in various ways, the evil may be mutual plagues to each other, in the world to come, as in this. But it is only by the Holy Angels that the finally impenitent are to be arrested and delivered over to punishment (Matt. xiii.41-2).

Purg. V.101, 'nel nome di Maria fini', calls forth a two-page note on Mariolatry, and further similar protests are made at intervals, culminating in a note on the last line of Saint Bernard's prayer in Par. XXXIII:

This address to the Virgin Mary, whether considered as that of Dante or St. Bernard, is only to be excused by the deepened shade which in the Middle Ages had come down on the Church.

The tone of the following note on Hugh Capet (Purg. XX.52) is typical of many others:

The father, if a butcher, was in a smaller way of business than some of his descendants, who have carried on a wholesale trade in slaughter. No wonder that Francis I prohibited the reading of Dante in his dominions.

Against Inf. XV.12 are some speculations as to 'lo maestro', and reference is made to Brooksbank's version of this passage which, as we have seen, gets it the wrong way round. Thomas concludes that

. . . for aught we know, the Great Architect may have employed in hell, as well as on earth, subordinate agents to accomplish his work.

At the end of Par. V there is a page and a half on the subject of vows and the evils of monasticism. There are several seriously worded notes on the creation of the angels subjoined to Par. XXIX; Thomas says that he prefers Jerome's opinion to that of Aquinas adopted by Dante; he is particularly put

out by the unreasonable shortness of the twenty seconds mentioned in line 49. A jubilant note to Par. XVIII.88 announces that he has succeeded in translating 'Diligite justitiam' etc. into English, 'Love justice ye who on earth decide in doom', keeping at the same time the correct number of thirty-five letters, a feat unattempted by his predecessors. It is doubtful if many readers would take the trouble of ploughing through these notes. Evidently the 1910 editor did not read them very carefully himself, for on page 203 of Purgatorio in the original edition notes 2 and 3 have been accidentally and obviously transposed, while in the reprint the former has been omitted and the latter left standing against the wrong line.

We have, we hope, been liberal enough in our illustrations to convince the reader of the inferiority of this translation, and of its complete failure to accomplish the aims set forth in the preface. But if we turn to the advertisement pages at the end of the Paradiso, we find a formidable array of eulogies quoted from the contemporary press, and in particular from more responsible reviews such as the Athenaeum, the Westminster and the Gentleman's Magazine. Mention is also made of ten other periodicals which have expressed 'similar views' regarding the Purgatorio, while extracts from letters praising the Inferno are given, including two from University professors. Points of particular interest arise in connexion with the first two of the literary magazines mentioned.

The Athenaeum, which through its long life seldom missed any English translation of the Divine Comedy, and in later years consistently condemned as hopeless the attempts to turn it into English terza rima, was unusually kind to Thomas. It found that the Inferno showed 'some poetic taste and feeling' and that 'the author has music in his soul' (9th July 1859, pp. 44-5). Of the Purgatorio (20th September 1862, pp. 364-5) it averred that 'he has

produced a version with which those who cannot read Italian may be well content'. Its praise of the *Paradiso* (23rd June 1866, pp. 831-2) was fainter: 'Some of his verses are felicitous renderings of the original - others might be improved.' It was to be reminded of this approval half a century later, for Telford, the editor of the 1910 edition, singled it out for mention in his introductory note:

. . . The Athenaeum welcomed this translation warmly when it first appeared, and it has approved itself to all lovers of Dante by its fidelity to the meaning and its happy representation of the form and spirit of the original.

The compliment could hardly be passed over; but the notice of the new edition in the Athenaeum (5th March 1910, p. 275) was very brief: 'Mr Thomas's renderings of Dante we have praised in past days, and we are glad to see them again.'

The vagaries of reviewers are emphatically demonstrated by the case of the Westminster Review. In 1859 it found that Thomas's *Inferno* 'may compare with the best' and 'is much superior to Wright's and Cayley's', and in 1862 that his *Purgatorio* was executed 'with unusual success'. Yet, between these two dates, in a long article to which we have already referred on 'Dante and his English Translators', published in January 1861, it dealt with him in unsparing fashion.

Mr Thomas's translation, though by no means meritorious, is certainly better than either his notes or preface. He tells us that his aim has been 'to give the sense correctly, and, by uniting the form, beauty, and spirit of the original, to do justice to Dante'. This would be an arrogant assumption in the mouth of the most successful translator, and we think that Mr Thomas would have done well if he had asked some candid friend whether he was at all justified in making use of it. His comments, which he says represent the labour of a life, consist chiefly of imperfect and misplaced classical and biblical knowledge, the former part of which might have been, and probably was, derived from Lempriere's Dictionary. . . . Is Dante's genius so usual a gift that every versifier can soar with safety where Dante has been before him? Are great poems so common that it is a small offence to disgust men with the very greatest? or so rare that it is necessary

to select the Divina Commedia for the travesty of incompetent translation? There is really less of excuse than of condemnation in the plea that they know not what they do; the traces of blundering unconscious ignorance raise less of pity than of disgust.

In the first essay prefixed to his Purgatorio, Thomas made some disparaging remarks about this article, without actually naming the periodical concerned, and without any real attempt to answer the criticisms.

The Saturday Review, from which Thomas did not venture to quote in his advertisement, was less than complimentary, and its article contains one very significant sentence.

Mr Thomas, without being a poet in any true sense of the word, possesses a great power of versification. But from an amiable desire to prove that Dante was as good a Christian as himself, Mr Thomas insists on giving Dante the sentiments of a particular Baptist in germ; and, favoured by a happy ignorance of the critical history of the Middle Ages, has read to the end of the Paradiso without suspecting his mistake. There is a mass of undigested learning in the Notes . . . but the translation may be read with pleasure by many of the large class who do not understand either the man Dante or his times.

The most serious indictment of Thomas appeared shortly after the publication of his Paradiso, in the article 'Dante in English terza rima' in Blackwood's Magazine of June 1867, already quoted in earlier ~~articles~~ essays.

But if Mrs Ramsay's version is superfine and not literal enough, Mr Thomas's is, on the other hand, prosaically literal and vulgar. His lines generally do represent the meaning of Dante's; only they represent it much as those of Tate and Brady do the Royal Psalmist's. The poetry has, in both cases, somehow evaporated during the process of translation.

After quoting a number of examples the writer concludes:

. . . Mr Thomas justifies the publication of his work, by remarking in his preface that it has 'little in common with any previous translations'. We give an unreserved and thankful assent to this proposition; but it does occur to us to wonder whether no faint suspicion has crossed Mr Thomas's mind of the nature and cause of this marked difference.

To complete the list of contradictions we quote from the Dictionary of National Biography, article on Thomas, which says of his Dante:

The average level of Thomas's additions to the 'select beauties of Modern English poetry' is not much higher than these lines indicate.

The fact that Thomas's Divine Comedy has been once and again imposed on the public as an excellent translation may be set down to a combination of causes. Without impugning his sincerity as a Christian minister, there is evidence that he had a flair for publicity, and could make effective use of his influence and that of others; some at least of the contemporary eulogies may have been 'inspired'. His name and his calling naturally commended him to a public which would, for the most part, accept it at its face value; the same factors led to his being reprinted when many better translations were long forgotten. But more fundamentally such popularity as his version has achieved is in some measure explained by the remark of the Saturday Review critic, that Thomas 'may be read with pleasure by many of the large class who do not understand either the man Dante or his times'. Thomas was, in fact, the first great vulgariser (in the etymological sense) of Dante. The process had been begun in a more restrained way by Wright, nor was Cayley entirely guiltless; but Thomas was the first to go to work in a wholesale fashion. He had, moreover, the incentive of claiming Dante as a precursor of his own nonconformist school, and of persuading the increasing reading public that was emerging from the classes formerly illiterate that they could obtain 'uplift' from the Divine Comedy. Unfortunately, as we shall see, Thomas has not lacked followers. There is inevitably a larger public for a classic which has been brought down to an easy level than for one which requires thought and effort to grasp, and ever-increasing economic pressure demands that books are in the main justified by sales.

being the second; in view of Wilkie's specific reference to the latter it seems probable that his translation was done during the two years 1860-2.

. . . An able translation, with scholarly notes and appendices. Its merits have been generally admitted by English students of Dante.

An examination of the five original sonnets contained in the preliminary matter of the Dante volumes would set at rest any doubts as to Thomas's poetic gifts. Two of them, however, it would be unfair to criticise or to quote, because they were written in the stress of family bereavement, and express, albeit in the style of the familiar 'In Memoriam' verses found in the evening newspapers, a genuine sorrow. The sonnet to Garibaldi is a typical Thomas product:

Fair Italy, how sad has been thy story!
Of old thy civil factions forged for thee
The stranger's yoke, the rod of tyranny,
Purpled thy plains and made thy rivers gory.
How long and grievous was thy Purgatory!
But it is past - free and united now,
Among the nations thou hast rear'd thy brow,
Deck'd with the wreath of Garibaldi's glory.
Illustrious chief! - if Dante from the skies
Looks downward on the land he loved so well,
In thee that virtuous hunter he descries
Who chased the she-wolf to her native hell:
While Italy, for freedom's battle won,
Hails thee her noblest, best, and bravest son.

In his Lyra Britannica, an anthology of 'select beauties of Modern English Poetry', published in 1830, and containing poems by Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Shelley and Keats among others, chosen by Thomas, the anthologist remarks that 'a few original pieces have been inserted, the appearance of which in such company will not, it is hoped, be deemed altogether presumptuous', a somewhat confident and offhand apology in the circumstances, not unlike the claim dealt with so scathingly by Blackwood's. It will suffice to quote the last stanza of one of these original contributions, a Sunday School hymn:

Then when the Archangel's trump shall sound,
And Christ the judge appear;
May we at his right hand be found,
And meet our teachers there.

That he used Fraticelli's WILLIAM PATRICK WILKIE not that a few extracts from

the latter's commentary have found their way into his text; on the other

Dante's Divina Commedia. The Inferno. Translated by W. P. Wilkie, Advocate. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1862. Foolscape octavo, pp. vi, 211. Preface (one sentence), p. iv; English text, printed continuously with numerous paragraph indentions, numbered, pp. 1-211; there are one or two very short footnotes, but no arguments or other explanatory matter.

Dante's Inferno. Translated line for line. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1866. Foolscape octavo, pp. vi, 211. Arrangement exactly as first edition, but with a different preface, considerable revision of cantos I to VIII, and a few additional short footnotes. The author's name does not appear on title page, but is printed at the end of the preface.

to blank verse is the absence of rhyme (even that creeps in occasionally). William Patrick Wilkie (1829-72) was a native of Edinburgh, eldest son of Captain William Wilkie. He adopted the law as his profession, was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1851, and died at the early age of forty-three. His prefaces are dated from Greenhill, i.e. the district of Edinburgh where he resided. It will be noted that Wilkie is among the younger translators of Dante; his first edition of the Inferno appeared when he was thirty-three. The second edition, published four years later, was revised in a somewhat eccentric fashion; it will be advisable to deal with the original version first of all, and then refer to the changes made in the 1866 edition.

Wilkie's Inferno is merely a curiosity. There is no indication of his motive in producing it. Apart from the text itself his volumes contain prefaces of four lines; that of 1862 reads:

The text generally followed in this translation is that of Fraticelli (Florence, 1860); but I have occasionally taken a view of Dante's meaning for which none of his editors are responsible.

Fraticelli's Comedy was originally published in 1852, the edition of 1860 being the second; in view of Wilkie's specific reference to the latter it seems probable that his translation was done during the two years 1860-2.

That he used Fraticelli is evident from the fact that a few extracts from the latter's commentary have found their way into his text; on the other hand his renderings of some lines are so totally unconnected with the Italian that we certainly could not hold any of Dante's editors responsible for them.

For purposes of classification, Wilkie's version has been placed among those in blank terzine, because it contains the same number of lines as Dante's poem and keeps each group of three as a unit, although it is printed continuously with very frequent paragraph indentions. Its only resemblance to blank verse is the absence of rhyme (even that creeps in occasionally).

It is written in lines of irregular length, containing any even number of syllables up to sixteen, the variation being apparently quite an arbitrary one. To illustrate this and other points, the first version of Inf. II.

28-42 is quoted below.

'The Chosen Vessel, too, among the disembodied went,
to gather confirmation of that faith
which leadeth to salvation's way.

30

'But I, why should I go? and who permitteth me?
Eneas I am not, nor am I Paul.

Unworthy I appear, and but for the inversions the following for lines
and, venturing to go,

most foolish I shall be:

Wiser art thou and rightly wilt discern.'

36

As one unwilling what he lately willed,
reversing all his plans as novel thoughts arise,
swerves wholly from his first design,

39

thus, on that gloomy shore, my purpose ebb'd away,
mid doubt and fears deterring from
that enterprise, so suddenly embraced.

42

It will be seen that the lines here vary from 6 to 14 syllables; there are quite occasionally lines of four syllables elsewhere, and once at least one of 2 only; lines of 16 syllables are also found. Sometimes there are quite

long passages consisting of almost entirely of either long or short lines.

Of the 136 lines of canto III, 103 have 8 syllables or less (there are three of 4 syllables).

One's first thought is that Wilkie simply used for each line the number of English syllables he needed to render the Italian, but a brief examination disposes of this possibility. He omits or inserts words and phrases apparently at random, e.g. in line 28 above 'among the disembodied' is his own addition, while in line 33 he has only translated half of 'me degno a ciò nè io nè altri crede'. The same eccentricity will be found throughout, nor is the sense of the original kept on a line for line basis, phrases being transferred from one to the other (see Appendix I, Inf. XXVI. lines 121-3, 127-9, 133-5). Sometimes a whole passage is reconstructed, as happens in XIV.37-42:

And, 'neath those burning and eternal showers,
full constant was the dance
of miserable hands
in whisking off the sparks, unceasingly replaced;
while, like to tinder when the flint is struck,
the sands ignited, doubling thus the torturings.

Nor can Wilkie be seen as a pioneer of free rhythm. There is no sign of any pattern in his irregularity, still less of poetic consciousness. He is thoroughly prosaic, and but for the inversions the following four lines (I.114-7) would pass for prose:

. . . that I may lead thee through a place eternal, where / upon
thine ear shall fall the shriekings of despair, / and thou shalt
see the agony of ancient spirits, who / the second death implore.

It is not surprising that words sometimes get into the wrong line, e.g.

'Then as a dog, which howls in hunger, / stops, when 'tween his teeth he
gets a bone' (VI.28-9) where probably 'stops' should have come at the end
of the first line.

Lines like 'Saturn's wife on it young Jupiter concealed' (XIV.100)
and 'save the right foot, which is of burnt clay' (XIV.110) require a
disyllabic pronunciation of 'urn' which one often hears in Scotland. The
only distinctively Scottish word in Wilkie's translation is interesting:

he says of Cerberus that 'quivering passion shook his widely wringled frame' (VI.24) = 'non avea membro che tenesse fermo'. According to Jameson 'wringled' is northern Scots from Icelandic 'reinki' cognate with German 'renken', not, as one might suppose, with O.E. 'wringan'.

There do not appear to be any examples of actual mistranslation; Wilkie seems to have understood his text, although he takes great liberties with it, often substituting a whole line of his own for one of Dante's. Some obligations to Fraticelli are easily recognisable. He renders III.18, 'c' hanno perduto il ben dell'intelletto' as 'who missed their souls' beatitude', his editor's comment being 'il bene, la beatitudine^{it} dell'intelletto'. In XIV.47 he accepts Fraticelli's plea for the reading 'marturi' in preference to 'maturi', but he misses such sense as this unsupported and almost certainly wrong reading gives by rendering 'but with disdain, and haughty glance remains / unblistered in the blaze', having failed to notice the word 'par'. Fraticelli gives two explanations of the simile in XXV.64-6, the first of which Wilkie has imported into his text:

Just so a candle's wick, of papyrus composed,
before the flame acquires a brownish tint,
which is not black, but black and white combined.

He is fond of introducing glosses; he may have felt it necessary in the absence of notes. Thus in X.97-9 he has:

You spirits seem to have prevision of things unevolved by time, yet Cavalcante is unwitting of his Guido's actual state.

In XXIII.105-7 he has:

Thy city chose us, two instead of one,
contentious Guelphs and Ghibellines
to represent and reconcile.

He upsets XXXI.16-18 for the same purpose, but here, incidentally, he has produced one good line, unhappily swamped by what follows:

No louder blast the blare Orlando blew,
when Charlemagne's crusade abortively was closed
in blood and rout, upon the plains of Roncesvalles.

Wilkie constantly weakens the force of Dante's expressions. Thus the simile of III.112-4 is baldly contracted to:

As autumn leaves fall from the trees,
in quick succession fluttering down,
till on the earth they all are shed.

'Che 'l mal dell'universo tutto insacca' (VII.18) becomes 'which all the sinners of the universe confines'; 'fanno dolore, ed ad dolor fenestra' (XIII.102) loses its point in becoming 'opening, with cruel teeth, vents for our anguish (sic) cries'. In XIV.92-3 we have a very lame equivalent for 'per ch'io 'l pregai che mi largisse il pasto', etc., in:

and I besought
him fully to explain, since thus he had
my curiosity aroused.

Occasionally he manages a good line, e.g. 'O cumbrous garb for never-ending time' (XXIII.67). He has an ingenious rendering of XXXI.22-4:

'So long the space of gloom,' replied my Guide,
'the searching glance must travel through,
impatient fancy buildeth castles in the air.'

This is followed up in line 39, where he omits entirely Dante's 'fuggiemi errore e cresciemi paura' and substitutes 'that fancied town unto the dread reality doth change'.

He has numerous other inventions, some of which are very strange. At the end of canto IX, where the sepulchre-strewn circle of the heretics is compared to the cemeteries of Arles and Pola, he omits line 117, 'salvo che 'l modo v'era più amaro', replacing it with 'while horror to disorder lent her touches grim'. By way of avoiding need for explanation, he alters 'ogn' uom v'è barattier, fuor che Bonturo' (XXI.41) to 'where every infant barterers fraudfully'. 'Deh, senza scorta andianci soli, / se tu sa' ir; ch'i' per me non la chaggio' (XXI.128-9) oddly becomes:

'Alone, alone proceed,' I, trembling, cried.

'Dost know the way? If not, why go at all?'

He seems to want to improve on Dante in XXIX.27, where he makes 'e udi 'l nominar Geri del Bello' into '"Ho now, Geri del Bello," growled a shade at him'; and to outdo him in lines 67-9 of the same canto which are fantastically horrible:

This one upon the belly, that upon the shoulders of
a neighbour sprawled; while others in the putrid gore,
in blindness, wriggled through the mass.

Line 72, 'che non potean levar le lor persone' becomes 'Some sinners were mere jelly clots', after which he adds an original line 73, 'quite motionless till shaken by the rest', contracting what follows to make room for it. In the description of Judas Iscariot, XXXIV.63, 'che 'l capo ha dentro e fuor le gambe mena', becomes 'His upper parts are bitten, and his lower clawed'.

There are some very clumsy lines, e.g. 'and sayest the other from the Ancient's cracks is rained' (XIV.132), or 'A portion of Inferno Malebolgè's called' (XVIII.1). Others are merely fatuous like 'in which the female sinners soothe their pains' (XIV.80). The following passage (XXIII.4-9) reads like something out of Punch:

And that wild strife we'd seen
moved me to think of Aesop's fable
about the frog and mouse,
which well describes
the incidents
of that mischance which did the fiends befall.

Here and there Wilkie becomes colloquial or even facetious. Thus X.76 reads: '"And if," referring to my pert remark, he said', while lines 104-5 of the same canto run:

and, but for new arrivals here,
we of the state you're in no knowledge should possess.

In XII.87 Virgil informs Chiron: 'A needful journey his, and not a pleasure jaunt'. At the end of canto XV Brunetto is described as being like one who 'in the race appears to have / a fair chance of the prize'; and in XIX.118 'E mentr' io li cantava cotai note' is changed to 'While thus the heels of Nich'las I addressed'.

In canto XXI Wilkie embarks on a frolicsome style which, with intermissions, continues to the end of canto XXX. The episode of the barrators is treated with considerable verve. A few lines are quoted below.

'Can I oblige thee?' said the grinning fiend.
(e venne a lui dicendo: 'Che li approda?') (XXI.78)

'What if I prick him in the hinder parts?'
'Nay, stick him in the ribs,' was pleasantly rejoined.
(XXI.101-2)

So went we then escorted by the devil's ten -
a charming company! 'With saints in church
and toppers at the tavern-bar' a good arrangement is!
(XXII.13-15)
And fair among the cats a rat was he. (XXII.58)

New sports, O Reader, hearken unto now.
The worthy fiends all turned their eyes away. (XXII.118-9)

How jolly 'tis to see Buòso thus
crawling upon his belly as I used to do! (XXV.140-1)

H^a, babe! didst think me no logician, eh? (XXVII.123)

Another blockhead for the thievish fire! (XXVII.127)

Unto himself a lamp the sufferer was;
for man and lamp were one;
a puzzle that 'tis thine to solve. (XXVIII.124-6)

And he, well blest with fond simplicity and little wit,
willed I should teach him how to fly;
and just because I made him not a Daedalus
he coaxed his prelate sire to treat me to the stake.
(XXIX.114-7)

And one I noted rather like a lute in shape,
at least like something of the sort he'd been
if he had had his legs cut off. (XXX.49-51)

Off I should waddle, labouring on the road (XXX.84)

Some of these, it will be noted, are quite effective in their context.

In 1866 a second edition of Wilkie's *Inferno* was issued by the same publishers; it will be noted that the title page was altered and the translator's name omitted from it, but this was not an attempt at anonymity, for his signature was added to the preface, even briefer than the first, which reads:

This Translation was originally published towards the end of 1862. Several Cantos, which appeared ineffective or not sufficiently literal, have been carefully re-written.

The revision is entirely confined to the first eight cantos; the remainder is exactly as in the 1862 edition, except ^{that} ~~some~~ a few very short footnotes are added. The general effect of this revision is to reduce the number of short lines, and also to eliminate some of the more drastic departures from the original text. This is not, however, done consistently, and it is difficult to see much method in its execution. By way of example, here is the opening of canto VI (lines 1-12) in both versions.

Revived the mental life that failed
when pity for that kindred pair
with grief my wonted powers subdued,
new torments, new tormented souls
around I see, each way I move,
each way I turn and gaze, for I
in the third circle am: that of the showers
ceaseless, accurs'd, heavy and cold,
ever in course and quality the same:
hailstones and snow with turbid water blent,
pouring forever through the midnight gloom:
whence putrid smells the soaking ground emits.

(1862)

Revived the mental life which closed itself
before the sufferings of that kindred pair
whose keen distress my powers subdued,
new torments, new tormented souls
around I see, each way I move,
each way I turn and gaze.
In the third circle I am now, that of the rain
ceaseless, accurst, heavy and cold,
ever in course and quality the same.
Large hail and snow with turbid water blent
pour through the lightless air; -
stinketh the ground receiving this.

(1866)

William Patrick Wilkie (9)

The effect of the revision is certainly to reduce the number of oddities in these early cantos, but there are also many eccentricities left unaltered, and it cannot be said that the final result is much more acceptable. Wilkie himself must have got tired of the task, since he abandoned it at the end of the eighth canto, and left the rest in which, as we have seen, curious features are as plentiful as in the beginning of the poem.

The Athenaeum (4th April 1863, pp. 452-3) dealt with Wilkie's translation curtly and caustically, remarking: 'We suspect the manner of the translation is as original as the matter of it.' Tomlinson mentioned this version among many others with disfavour in his notorious preface of 1877. Probably it had little publicity, and the number of copies printed, obviously at the author's expense, may have been very small. The book is by no means common in the second-hand market.

Brothers in 1874, and bearing only the name Mrs Ramsay on the title page. Her initials appear in the preface to the *Inferno*. Paget Toynbee was unable to obtain dates for her life. The Library of Congress catalog gives the full Christian names as quoted above; the librarian there informs us that this information was supplied some thirty years ago, he thinks by a Mr Ramsay, but the records are no longer extant. Until some further clue is found we must content ourselves with the little that can be gleaned from internal evidences; this makes it clear that Mrs Ramsay spent many years in Italy. In the preface to the 1852 volume, dated from London, she has the following concluding paragraph.

This translation of the Divine Comedy was written during a long residence in the land of Dante, in the very scenes where he lived and wrote: beneath the shadow of the Tuscan hills, on the shores of the Bay of Naples, among the ruins of Old Rome. For years, the Italian tongue has been as familiar to me as my own; and, during those years, I have enjoyed the privilege of receiving the advice

CLAUDIA HAMILTON RAMSAY

Dante's Divina Commedia. Translated into English, in the metre and triple rhyme of the original. With Notes. By Mrs Ramsay. London: Tinsley Brothers, 18, Catherine St., Strand. Post octavo, 3 volumes.

Vol. I. Inferno. 1862. pp. vii, 302. Preface (dated London, November 1st 1862 and signed C. H. Ramsay), pp. i-vii; English text, printed in terzine (first line of each indented), with brief argument at head of each canto, pp. 1-244; notes, pp. 245-302.

Vol. II. Purgatorio. 1862. pp. 325. English text (as Vol. I), pp. 1-246; notes, pp. 247-325.

Vol. III. Paradiso. 1863. pp. 383. English text (as Vol. I), pp. 1-249; notes, pp. 251-383.

A short errata slip is tipped into each volume.

Nothing seems to be known of the identity of this translator. Besides her Dante she published one other book, A Summer in Spain, issued by Tinsley Brothers in 1874, and bearing only the name Mrs Ramsay on the title page. Her initials appear in the preface to the Inferno. Paget Toynbee was unable to obtain dates for her life. The Library of Congress catalog gives the full Christian names as quoted above; the Librarian there informs me that this information was supplied some thirty years ago, he thinks by a Mr Ramsay, but the records are no longer extant. Until some further clue is found we must content ourselves with the little that can be gleaned from internal evidence; this makes it clear that Mrs Ramsay spent many years in Italy. In the preface to the 1862 volume, dated from London, she has the following concluding paragraph.

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of some of the greatest Italian students of Dante. Their verdict has encouraged me to publish this translation of the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*; to be followed afterwards by the *Paradiso*, the last great work of the greatest Poet of Italy.

From the opening chapter of A Summer in Spain it is evident that in 1874 Mrs Ramsay's usual residence was in Rome. This book is a brightly written, chatty account of a journey in 1872, from the extreme north to south of Spain, including a crossing to Tangier, complicated by the Carlist insurrection of that year. It is evident that Mrs Ramsay and her friends were used to travelling and to coping with the problems that arise in an unsettled country.

Mrs Ramsay has the distinction of being the first woman to make an English translation of any considerable part of the *Divine Comedy*; moreover she leads the field by a long way. It was not till forty years later that another woman ventured on the task, and the only other version of the complete *Comedy* by a woman is Mrs Shaw's in 1914, which is in blank verse. There is every hope, however, that a third woman will shortly complete the course, since Miss Dorothy L. Sayers' *Inferno* has appeared, her *Purgatorio* is in the press, and she is at work on the *Paradiso*.

Mrs Ramsay has little to say in her preface of the translation itself. Having remarked that a translator is often a traducer, she feels none the less that for those who cannot read the original a faithful translation is better than total ignorance. She goes on:

. . . But the faithfulness of a translation consists, not merely in the sense, but likewise in the sound; and therefore I have preferred attempting the very difficult triple rhyme of the original, rather than the easier task of writing in blank verse. I have also, as far as possible, kept the same words, the same rhymes, as in the original, and even its occasionally almost grotesque peculiarities.

The contemporary reviewers, presumably male, were gallant but a trifle patronising. Reviewing the first two volumes the Athenaeum (4th April

1863, pp. 452-3) duly complimented the lady on her achievement, and said that 'many passages might be quoted as the most successful and agreeable of all the attempts in triple rhyme version that we have read'; although, being apparently short of space, the only actual quotation given is Inf. III.1-9. A year later (5th March 1864, p. 332) the *Paradiso* was rather more faintly praised, but the notes received special commendation. The Saturday Review (14th November 1863, pp. 652-4) allowed her 'much fidelity and a remarkable degree of elegance', but with rather lofty condescension added:

. . . That she should fall short of the nervousness and precision of the masculine style with which she has to cope could not but have been expected, especially as her studies of the poem have no solid classical or historical basis to rest upon; but we are bound to say that she has performed a work exceedingly creditable to her talent and character, though it remains in some points very insufficient to meet the main requirements of the reader of Dante.

The author of the article in Blackwood's Magazine of June 1867, reviewing English terza rima translations to date, was more severe on Mrs Ramsay's feminine limitations. The main target of his attack was Thomas (see article on the latter), and he deals with Mrs Ramsay en passant, remarking that in reading the translations of Ford and Brooksbank

we feel that we are listening to scholars and gentlemen. It is, in many things, a descent to pass from either of these two versions to those of Mr Thomas and Mrs Ramsay.

This somewhat damaging comment is amplified with reference to a single line, Purg. XXII.114, where to suit the rhyme Mrs Ramsay tacked on to the bare mention of Thetis in the original the words 'with the sea-flowers in her hair'. The reviewer says:

For such interpolations she makes room by corresponding omissions. And we have vainly searched her *Divina Commedia* for even attempts to render many a characteristic touch of Dante's own, more precious in our eyes than sea-flowers by the bushel.

Mrs Ramsay is 'too ladylike', 'she too often forgets that her business is

to repeat her author's own words; not to add to them, or soften down their ruggedness'. In conclusion her unfortunate habit of ending each canto with an Alexandrine is censured, with the comparison of the 'wounded snake' to support the reproof.

The diagnosis of the writer in Blackwood's is an accurate one. Mrs Ramsay's fault did not lie in her lack of a classical or historical basis as the Saturday reviewer suggests. Although she did not lard her notes with classical quotations to the extent that some translators did, she quoted Greek and Latin authors and ideas when necessary, and showed a very fair degree of acquaintance with medieval history, and also familiarity with variant readings and interpretations of her author. It is a pity that the critics made so much of her sex, for the failings complained of are by no means confined to poetesses. It is rather remarkable that no one commented on the discrepancy between her preface and her practice, for she does not do, or even attempt to do, what she promised in the paragraph quoted above. She neither provides a faithful translation of the sense nor a convincing imitation of the sound; far from keeping to the same words and the same rhymes as the original, she consistently violates its fundamental principle by disregarding the divisions of the tercine, while the 'grotesque peculiarities' of Dante, and also those which are less grotesque, are notably absent. Whereas the scholarly race of terza rima translators adopted, so far as their contortions would allow them, the grand manner of the Augustans, Mrs Ramsay is typical of the romantic aftermath, that deterioration into conventional epithets and so-called poetic vocabulary which is the stock-in-trade of nineteenth-century poetasters from Mrs Hemans onwards. The strain is very prevalent in the second half of the century, when it was poured out in profusion by scores of now

deservedly forgotten versifiers of both sexes. In describing it as 'sea-flowers by the bushel' the Scottish reviewer summed it up very neatly.

Mrs Ramsay's cavalier treatment of Dante's *terzine* ill accords with her alleged reasons for attempting the triple rhyme. For about three cantos at the beginning she adheres to a line-for-line arrangement, but she soon departs from it. Usually she begins by over-running, as when she takes two lines to express the sense of one, and is obliged to make two lines into one to catch up again, e.g. (Inf. XXII.34-42):

And Graffican, who next him did advance,
With sharp-hook'd weapon clutch'd his pitchy hair,
And drew him upwards, till unto my glance
The semblance of an otter he did wear.
(The demons' names I knew, for I applied
To list what appellation each might bear,
When they were call'd to be to us a guide.)
'O Rubicante, him with sharp claws flay,'
With one accord the fiends accurs'd cried.

But often it takes much longer to catch up, and the translation continues out of phase with the original for thirty lines or more. Once in the

Inferno and once in the Purgatorio she does not catch up at all; canto IV of the former and canto X of the latter each contain three lines more than Dante's. In the Paradiso the tendency to expansion becomes much more marked: cantos X, XVI, XIX and XXIX have three lines more, and cantos XXVI and XXXIII six lines more than the original. In canto XXVI three lines are added by gradual expansion between lines 10 and 30, which become 10 to 33 in the translation, and three more in the same way between lines 37 and 66, which become 40 to 72. In canto XXXIII the first three lines are added by expanding one *terzina* (94-6) into six lines:

But more forgetfulness on me doth fall
Here in one moment, than in all the space
Of twenty centuries and five, which roll
Between the Present and the ancient days
When on the foam the shadow Argo threw,
The sea-god first beheld with wond'ring gaze.

Three more lines are added by gradual expansion of lines 115-38 of the original. This kind of thing produces an odd effect, when such tercine as 'O luce etterna che sola in te sidi . . . ' (124-6) begin with the middle line of the triplet in the translation.

One of the reasons adduced in Mrs Ramsay's preface for the making of a translation is that it helps those whose knowledge of Italian is hardly equal to coping with Dante unaided:

In these cases a faithful translation is better than total ignorance, or even than spelling painfully through a poem, with the aid of grammar and dictionary.

But a perusal even of the first canto of the Inferno makes it clear that her version is not faithful either to the letter or spirit of the original.

Lines 16-21 read:

I upward look'd and saw the summit glow,
Clad in the radiance of that planet's light
Which to all wayfarers the path doth show.
And then the thoughts which caused me dire affright
Were hush'd within me, and I fear'd no more,
As I had done in all that dreadful night.

Line 30, 'sì che ~~se~~ 'l piè fermo sempre era 'l più basso' is admittedly difficult, but to substitute 'I strove the mountain-summit to ascend' does not help the inquiring student. 'Quando l'amor divino / mosse di prima quelle cose belle' (39-40) becomes 'when their bright array / By Love Divine was made a thing so fair'. Line 60, 'mi ripigneua là dove 'l sol tace' is very much changed for the worse to 'Made me return to where the darkness lay'. Virgil in line 63 'from long silence spake in whispers low'. The 'dei falsi e bugiardi' of line 72 are simply 'the gods of Rome'; 'lo bello stile che m'ha fatto onore' (87) becomes 'The beauteous language of each honoured lay'. Line 132, 'acciò ch' io fugga questo male a peggio', is omitted altogether, and a piece of padding, 'Wouldst lead me forth from

out this desert lone', takes its place. An examination of any canto would give similar results; reference to the passages in Appendix I, especially Purg. II.1-51, will show numerous instances.

Mrs Ramsay mentions in the preface her familiarity with the Italian language, and there is no reason to doubt it. She often renders inaccurately, but that is by choice, presumably, and not through failure to understand, e.g. she must have known what 'nel lago del cor' and 'là dove 'l sol tace' meant in Inf. I and deliberately replaced them with other expressions. It is true that one could easily make a list of many lines which would be considered as mistranslations to-day, but they can nearly all be traced to erroneous interpretations which once held currency although they have long been discredited. Mrs Ramsay does not say on what texts or commentaries she relied, but she seems to have been ill-advised or unfortunate, because she accepts many inferior readings. In the course of trying to track down some of her apparent mistranslations, quite a few, previously unheard of, have been found on the pages of less reliable nineteenth-century editors. She had, however, given some attention to doubtful passages, for she mentions alternative readings of some in her notes, and also defends her interpretation of some controversial lines. In one place she gets rid of a crux by the simple expedient of omitting the line altogether, viz. 'che dritto di salita aveva manco' (Purg. X.30), and there are some similar minor evasions.

Her main object seems to be the attainment of that 'remarkable degree of elegance' noticed by one reviewer. Since she does not hesitate to change an expression, omit or invent a phrase, insert a gloss or a piece of padding, her version appears to have the 'agreeable' quality mentioned by the Athenaeum. Although she is by no means free from awkwardness and inversion here and there, the perpetual straining after rhyme, so noticeable in those trans-

lators who twist Dante's exact words into a form that suits the metre, is absent. There might be some justification for such a course if the substitute, in its essential meaning and in its poetic quality, bore at least some proportion to the original. But every change made is so very much for the worse that one is forced to agree with the writer in Blackwood's that 'sea-flowers by the bushel' are not an acceptable compensation for the absence of those qualities which make Dante what he is.

The renderings are often slipshod, possibly because the precise meaning of the Italian was not fully appreciated. For instance, the two similes of Inf. XXV.61-6 read:

And then, as ye the melted wax have seen
Together fused, in mingling colours spread;
That neither seem'd the thing he erst had been:
Even like the burning heat of flame, when shed
On the scorch'd paper, with a dubious hue,
As yet not black, though whiteness there be dead.

The syntax of the first *terzina* is doubtful, and perhaps it is wrongly punctuated; anyhow it fails completely to convey Dante's graphic comparison.

The grammatical relationships of the second *terzine* are equally obscure, and its vagueness loses all the vividness of the original. For Purg. III. 121-3 we have:

In life my sins did God's great judgments brave;
But yet his arms of tender love embrace
All who return to him before the grave,

on which comment seems superfluous. In the Sapia incident (Purg. XIII) the words 'O frate mio, ciascuna è cittadina / d'una vera città' (94-5) become 'My brother, in a land that doth excel / We all have our true home'; while line 102, 'lo mento a guisa d'orbo in su levava', is weakened to 'As one on whom the sun hath never beam'd', the essential gesture being left out altogether. In Purg. XXII.67-9

Thou didst as they who in the darkness go,
Holding a light which yet they cannot use;
But unto those behind, the way doth show,

the essential point, 'che porta il lume dietro', is omitted. The majestic
'e sarai meco senza fine / di quella Roma onde Cristo è romano' (Purg.
XXXII.100-2) becomes 'then ever in that Rome with me, / Shalt dwell, where
Christ the Roman power doth wield'. The emphatic repetition of 'crescer'
in Par. XIV.49-51 vanishes in

Thus clearer gleams the vision of our peace,
More holy ardour from its depths doth glow,
And fairer rays thence shine withouten cease.

Similarly the real point has gone from Par. XVII.40-2:

Yet to necessity they do not bend,
Save as it seems unto the eyes that see
A ship which by the current doth descend.

The 'sea-flowers' are liberally sprinkled throughout. A few examples
all from Purg. XXVII will suffice; almost any other canto would afford a
similar collection. The ^{an}magel's address (11-12) is expanded to:

Enter; nor turn ye from the heavenly plain,
Whence cometh to your ears that lovely lay.

Instead of Virgil being 'turbato un poco' (35) we learn that 'a cloud
passed o'er his eyes'. The lines describing the heat (49-51) become:

So fierce the fiery glow,
That seething, molten glass, compared with this,
Were as a grot where crystal waters flow.

The coming of night (70-2) is weakened to conventional language:

Ere the horizon changed its varied hue,
Unto the dimness of the twilight gray,
And night, o'er all, her dusky mantle threw.

Lines 106-7, 'Ell'è de' suoi belli occhi veder vaga / com' io dell'ador-
narmi con le mani' are rendered:

And ever she sitteth, night and morn,
With eye intent upon the holy rays
That shine around the glories of God's throne,

the sense of line 107 being omitted altogether. The conclusion of Virgil's speech (139-42) runs:

No longer tarry for my speech or sign;
For now thy heart is righteous, pure, and just,
Nor unto evil things canst thou incline:
Thus, to thy will, both crown and mitre I entrust.

Other men's flowers are scattered around also. Thus we find spirit voices floating 'on the viewless air' (Purg. XIII.26); the gleam in Purg. XXIX.20 'brighten'd more unto the perfect morn'; Piccarda is blest 'in softened light' (Par. III.51); 'the snows of age' are falling on Dante's brow in Inf. XXVI.12; in Par. XXIII.108 Mary is to 'shed more radiance on the crystal sea'.

Some of the difficult passages are quite well handled, there being less temptation to ornament theological disquisitions. In Purg. XXV lines 46-51 are omitted entirely, presumably because the subject is thought indelicate, so that this canto is six lines short.

Stock archaisms are frequent and often tastelessly used: eyne, hight, clept, even sain (= said), withouten, eke, fraught; forms like anear, adown; and frequently a redundant 'I ween', 'I wis' or 'I wot' for the rhyme, giving such a wretchedly inferior rendering as (Par. XX.10-12):

for, each living light in bliss,
Yet shining more and more, began, the while,
A song too sweet for memory, I wis.

There are quite a number of tolerable passages in the poem, although it is difficult to find a long one which does not contain some example of superfluous ornament or of weakening. There are also a few really good isolated tercine, and we conclude the examples with one or two of these. Inf. XIV.28-30 is effective:

And ever slowly falling on the sand,
Great flakes of fire came down in burning rain,
As without wind the snow on mountain-land.

Unfortunately a few lines lower down 'Thus never do the flames eternal cease' fails to continue the onomatopoeia. Purg. XII.88-90 is good:

Then came that lovely Being from afar,
Clothed in white robes, and bearing on his brow
The trembling glory of the morning star.

Purg. XXIX.37-42 is also good, although it is a pity that a 'starry train' has intruded:

O holy, holiest maidens of the lyre,
If ever, for your sakes, on me hath lain
Hunger, or cold, or vigils, I require
My guerdon. Let Urania's starry train
Give of the fount of Helicon, that I
Strong thoughts may render into measured strain.

Dante's closing words to Beatrice (Par. XXXI.79-90) impress favourably:

Lady, in whom my hope doth bloom so well,
And who for my salvation wast content
To leave thy footprints on the shores of Hell,
For all the wonders, 'mong which I have bent
My steps, I here acknowledge in this hour
The grace and virtue with thy goodness blent.
Thou hast from servitude most sad and sore
Brought me unto a land of liberty,
By every means of which thou hadst the power.
Thy marvellous gifts do thou preserve in me,
That still my spirit, which thou hast made whole,
Freed from the flesh be pleasing unto thee.

Mrs Ramsay's notes are well written and helpful; naturally some of them are out of date to-day. She omits altogether many explanations which a student might expect to find in a commentary occupying so many pages; sometimes she spreads into anecdotes and irrelevancies. A feature of her last volume is the extent of the notes, which contain some interesting matter, including what amount to short essays on Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Sigier of Brabant, Saint Francis of Assisi, Buonaventura and Saint Dominic. Most of the spirits encountered in Paradise are adequately commented on, and there is valuable information about the Florentine references in the Cacciaguida cantos.

We have been obliged to be severe on Mrs Ramsay's translation, because although it possesses merits it is deficient in the primary requisite of fidelity. She was undoubtedly a woman of high accomplishments, and it seems a pity that she should have chosen to translate Dante, for she might have done better with a writer like Ariosto. We cannot, however, grudge her the praise due to her adventurousness, and agree that 'she has performed a work exceedingly creditable to her talents and character'.

William Michael Rossetti (1829-1919) was a member of a famous family, being the second son of Gabrielli Rossetti, the younger brother of Dante Gabriel, and the elder brother of Christina Georgina. During a very long life he combined many interests. At the age of sixteen he entered the Excise Office (later the Inland Revenue Board) from which he retired in 1884 after fifty years service, having held the post of senior assistant secretary from 1869 onwards. Before he was twenty he was one of the six original members of the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and he acted as editor of The Germ, contributing a sonnet to the first number. He was also well known as an art critic, wrote for the Spectator and other periodicals, and was responsible for a number of articles on art in the Encyclopedia Britannica. He did much miscellaneous editorial and literary work, and was one of the early collaborators in the compilation of the Oxford English Dictionary. His interest in Dante is evidenced by his book, Dante and his Convito (1910) as well as by the above translation. He lacked, however, the genius of his brother and sister, and left no original literary work of note.

In 1865, the year in which Dante's sixtieth birthday was celebrated, Rossetti published a blank verse translation of the Inferno which, he says in his preface, had actually been completed some seven or eight years earlier. He had evidently delayed publication in the intention of completing the whole Comedy, an intention which he repeats in the preface, but eventually decided

to publish his *Inferno* in the anniversary year. The promised *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* did not materialise; this may have been due in some degree to

WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI

The Comedy of Dante Alighieri (sic). Part I - The Hell. Translated into blank verse by William Michael Rossetti, with introduction and notes. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1865. Post octavo, pp. xxxiv, 248. Preface, pp. i-vi; biographical memorandum, pp. vii-xx; general exposition: analogy of the punishments to the sins, pp. xxi-xxxiv; English text, printed continuously without indention, divided into paragraphs, with very brief arguments and brief footnotes, pp. 1-248.

original, but like Pollock's it is printed continuously and divided into paragraphs, which at first sight obscures the ternary form. Longfellow's was the first blank verse translation arranged in *terzine*, and the elder brother of Christina Georgina. During a very long life he combined many interests. At the age of sixteen he entered the Excise Office (later the Inland Revenue Board) from which he retired in 1894 after fifty years service, having held the post of senior assistant secretary from 1869 onwards. Before he was twenty he was one of the six original members of the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and he acted as editor of The Germ, contributing a sonnet to the first number. He was also well known as an art critic, wrote for the Spectator and other periodicals, and was responsible for a number of articles on art in the Encyclopedia Britannica. He did much miscellaneous editorial and literary work, and was one of the early collaborators in the compilation of the Oxford English Dictionary. His interest in Dante is evidenced by his book, Dante and his Convito (1910) as well as by the above translation. He lacked, however, the genius of his brother and sister, and left no original literary work of note.

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to publish his *Inferno* in the anniversary year. The promised *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* did not materialise; this may have been due in some degree to the success of Longfellow's version on similar lines, the first part of which also appeared in the centenary year and the remainder in the two succeeding years. It may be mentioned here that Rossetti's rendering follows Dante *terzina* by *terzina*, containing the identical number of lines found in the original, but like Pollock's it is printed continuously and divided into paragraphs, which at first sight obscures the ternary form. Longfellow's was the first blank verse translation arranged in *terzine*.

Rossetti's preface sums up the situation to date, and clearly states his own object.

The aim of this translation of Dante may be summed up in one word - Literality. Numerous are the translations already existing. Some may be passed in silence, as either in themselves failures, or superseded by some other version aiming at the same special qualities; but there are four of which no fresh translator can assume to be unheedingful - Cary's, Cayley's, Carlyle's, and Pollock's. Each of these has a distinct aim, and none is done less than creditably.

He goes on to bestow praise on these four versions for what they have achieved, and also mentions the shortcomings of each. In a footnote he refers to the existence of the translations of the Rev. (sic) Mr Brooksbank, the Rev. Wesley Thomas and Mrs Ramsay, adding that 'any attempt to appraise them might be out of place'. Then he proceeds:

My attempt is of precisely the same class as Pollock's. Like him, I have aimed at unconditional literality in phraseology, and at line-for-line rendering; and, like him, I have kept to the metre, which is the same as in blank verse, but not to the rhyme (the so-called *terza rima*). That I am not entirely satisfied with his success in substance and spirit is implied in the attempt which, with a consciousness of its numerous imperfections, I now submit to the reader. The aim appeared to me the best that remained to be pursued, after Cayley. To follow Dante sentence for sentence, line for line, word for word - neither more nor less - has been my strenuous endeavour; various shortcomings in form, from a literary point of view, are the result. Some readers will probably be disposed to consider that singularity, or even oddity, of phrase is

one of my chief shortcomings. Where that fault is my own, I must simply plead guilty; but I would ask my reader (if unacquainted with Italian) to believe me when I say that generally I am odd to the English reader for one reason only - that Dante also is odd to the Italian reader in the same passage.

The qualities of Pollock's translation (1854) have already been discussed; probably Rossetti's main cause of dissatisfaction with it lay in the fact that it weakens many of Dante's characteristic expressions, and also frequently misinterprets or obscures them. Scattered throughout Rossetti's version are numerous lines which are identical or almost so with Pollock's, but they are all cases where the rendering is completely literal. Similar strong resemblances exist between Pollock's and Longfellow's versions and between Longfellow's and Rossetti's. We have already had occasion to remark, and shall recur to the point many times, that such resemblances or even identities are inevitable, and so long as the translation is literal they only indicate that writers of the same period and in the same tradition are certain to arrive fairly often at the same verbal solution of their problem. The resemblances between Rossetti and Longfellow are a particularly good proof of this, because neither could possibly have had the slightest knowledge of the other's work.

Rossetti, however, clings to his principle of literality with what often seems mere perverseness. For instance VI.1-3 reads:

On the returning of the mind, which shut
Before the pity for the cognate twain
The which with mournfulness confused me all . . .

This could hardly be called English, nor is it even a good crib, because it leaves obscure the perfectly clear sense of the original, in spite of a footnote which informs us that 'this word (cognati), besides the general sense which I have rendered by "cognate", expresses in Italian the exact relationship of brother and sister in law'. Dante plainly meant 'the two kinsfolk',

and there does not seem to be any justification at all for using what is no more than an etymological equivalent. In the same canto (109-11) we have:

This ~~of~~ ^{of} people, notwithstanding that
~~It~~ true perfection it shall never go,
 Expecteth it will there be more than here.

'Where?' one may ask. Dante clearly uses 'di là' and 'di quà' in a temporal sense, 'on this side, and on that of the judgment', which Longfellow's 'Here-after more than now they look to be' expresses accurately. The habit of departing from normal English idiom seems to grow on Rossetti, so that he often does so quite needlessly, without contributing thereby either to the force or meaning of the original, and sometimes even without any foundation in the Italian for his un-English construction.

But, when thou art to be in the sweet world . . .
 (Ma quando tu sarai nel dolce mondo) (VI.88)

When we were getting onward through a wood
 (quando noi ci mettemmo per un bosco) (XIII.2)

A horrible art of justice is to see
 (si vede di giustizia orribil arte) (XIV.6)

To get the sand and flamelet fully ~~sp~~ ceased
 (per ben cessar la rena e la fiamella) (XVIII.33)

And seems he'll shed, for all the pain, no tear
 (e per dolor non par lagrima spanda) (XVIII.84)

He is along the path crossed o'er and nude
 (Attraversato è, nudo, nella via) (XXIII.118)

But neither Trojan furies nor of Thebes
 Were ever against any seen so fierce,
 Nor beasts be stabbed - (I say not human limbs) -
 As I beheld (XXX.22-4)

The same kind of obscurity results from the tendency already noticed to put too much faith in etymological equivalents, as when we learn that the sinners in the vestibule of hell 'were stimulated much / By the great flies' (III.65), or that at Pola 'The sepulchres make various all the place' (IX.115). This habit also seems to grow, producing such lines as 'And what's

your doom that scintillateth so?' (XXIII.99) where the Italian has 'sfavilla'; or still more extraordinary the rendering of 'dietro alle poste delle care piante' (XXIII.148) by 'After the cherished footsoles' vestiges'. The attempt to find an English reflection of an Italian form even appears in V.121-3:

There is no greater grief
Than to remember one of happy time
In misery . . .

Other examples of unnatural phraseology will be found in the Ulysses passage in Appendix I. Such oddities as we shall see drew the fire of the critics, who were by no means satisfied with the suggestion that the blame for them should rest with Dante.

A few archaic words occur, but the only really annoying one is 'whenas' which is used with irritating frequency. The contractions 'wi' and 'wi' for 'of' and 'with' are often used where they seem unnecessary, and, being rather out of character, add to the oddity. Here and there clumsiness occurs. In X.87, 'Makes prayed within our temple such a prayer', the redundancy may be intended to reflect a different repetition in the text, 'tali orazion fa far nel nostro tempio'; one would have expected a neater rendering of XIX.72 than 'I put in purse pelf there, and here myself'; rather ugly too is XVIII.98-9:

And of the foremost vale be this enough
To know, and eke of them it in it goes.

On the other hand there are some good lines and neat expressions. The onomatopoeia of IV.9, though different from that of the original, is striking: 'Which gathers thunder of unnumbered wails'. 'Which bags entire the universe's bane' (VII.18) is vigorous. Rossetti follows Cayley in giving the 'Evilclaws' new names which, though not so recondite are more effective than his predecessor's, e.g. Barbariccia is Bristlebeard,

Libicocco is Play-the-trick, and Rubicante is Ruddyflare.

As might be expected from one of his family, Rossetti is in general accurate. He knew the original well, and he explains in his preface that while he chiefly used Venturi's text, he adopted from others readings thought preferable 'without, I must acknowledge, any curious inquiry as to authority'. His footnotes often give variant readings and alternative interpretations, and where he has put a less familiar construction on a doubtful passage he usually gives a note on it. There are a few errors, some of which may be mere slips, e.g. Rossetti can hardly have mistaken the meaning of 'tanta pietà m'accora' in XIII.84, and in rendering it 'such pity heartens me' was probably imposing on the English word a sense it cannot bear. In the same way a momentary forgetfulness of anatomy may have caused him to write 'For from the reins the countenance was turned' (XX.13), without realising in what sense 'dalle reni' is used here. Very strange is his XVII.124 where he has 'And then I heard, for I heard not before . . . ' for 'E vidi poi, chè nol vedea davanti . . . ', where the sense obviously demands the 'saw' of the original. It is surprising to find him perpetuating the common error of 'behind the sun' for 'di retro al sol' in XXVI.117. These, however, are the worst of his offences in this direction, although critics, spurred on no doubt by his claim of absolute literality, and put out by his frequent verbal gymnastics, were not slow to point out places where he had failed to find the right word. They also protested against the suggestion in the preface that the oddities of his version were mainly to be ascribed to the original, and the Athenaeum reviewer (1st April 1865, pp. 452-3) remarked: 'We cannot admit that there is any necessity in the nature of things for a translation of the Divine Comedy to read oddly.' It is probable that Rossetti, being

bilingual and deeply imbued with his ancestral culture, was not altogether conscious of just how odd he was.

Charles Tomlinson, who was very severe on his predecessors in the preface to his own *Inferno*, speaks more kindly of Rossetti and Longfellow than of the others. He finds Rossetti has 'a more Dantesque spirit' than Longfellow, but animadverts on his frequently discordant lines, and sums up accurately with the remark that 'this version, full of merit as it is, is not poetical'.

Rossetti's translation cannot be considered a success, although it might be useful to the student for the laborious fidelity with which many of the Italian constructions are reproduced. It is to Rossetti's credit, however, that not only did he state his own claims with moderation, but he was generous to his fellow-translators. We have already referred to the tributes paid to predecessors in his preface; those to Ford and Johnston are quoted in the relative articles.

Rossetti's footnotes are brief but useful; his biographical memorandum is concise and about half of it is taken up by a translation of Boccaccio's memoir of Dante. The general exposition, besides containing a list of every individual mentioned in the *Inferno* related to their respective circle and sub-division,

aims particularly at giving (what, so far as I am aware, has not been given before) a connected view of the moral relation between the sins punished in Hell, and the punishment.

Incidentally, there is no reflection anywhere in the book of the elder Rossetti's notorious theories about Dante's esoteric significance.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.
Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. Crown quarto, three volumes.

Vol. I, pp. x, 413. Contents, pp. iii-vii; two sonnets, pp. ix-x; English text of *Inferno*, printed in terzine and numbered, no arguments (14 point type widely leaded), pp. 1-216; notes, pp. 219-339; illustrations, pp. 343-413.

Vol. II, pp. viii, 410. Contents, pp. iii-vi; two sonnets, pp. vii-viii; English text of *Purgatorio* (as above), pp. 1-219; notes, pp. 223-361; illustrations, pp. 365-410.

Vol. III, pp. viii, 452. Contents, pp. iii-vi; two sonnets, pp. vii-viii; English text of *Paradiso* (as above), pp. 1-223; notes, pp. 227-384; illustrations, pp. 387-424; index, pp. 427-52.

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.
London: George Routledge & Sons, The Broadway, Ludgate; New York, 416 Broome Street. 1867. Crown octavo, three volumes.

Vol. 1, *Inferno*. Contents, pp. iii-v; sonnet, p. 2; English text, printed in terzine but unnumbered, pp. 3-112; notes, pp. 115-97; illustrations, pp. 198-246.

Vol. 2, *Purgatorio*. Contents, pp. v-viii; sonnet, p. 248; English text (as above), pp. 249-359; notes, pp. 363-457; illustrations, pp. 198-246.

Vol. 3, *Paradiso*. Contents, pp. v-viii; sonnet, p. 492; English text (as above), pp. 493-603; notes, pp. 607-715; illustrations, pp. 706-41; index, pp. 743-60.

Notes: (1) These three volumes were issued at intervals of several months, but folioed continuously, and later combined into a single volume.

(2) The absence of line numbers in the British edition and subsequent reprints is a grave defect, especially since all references in the notes are by line numbers, which are often the only clue to the subject of the note.

Subsequent editions of Longfellow's *Divine Comedy* are very frequent both in America and Britain. It appeared in Routledge's *Excelsior* series in 1867; in their *Morley's Universal Library* in 1886; in their *Pocket Library* in 1890; in their *Popular Library* in 1891; in *Lubbock's Hundred Best Books* in 1892; in Routledge's *New Universal Library* in 1907; it has been included in the *Tauchnitz* series since 1867; there are also various illustrated and folio editions.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-82) was born in Portland, Maine, which he celebrated in 'My Lost Youth' as 'the beautiful town / That is seated by the sea'; he was the second son of Stephen Longfellow, whose great-great-grandfather, William Longfellow, had come to America from Yorkshire in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Stephen was a lawyer by profession, and like so many New Englanders a Unitarian by religion, and to this form of American Christianity the poet remained faithful throughout his life. Henry's mother was Zilpah Wadsworth, who belonged to an even more ancient generation of immigrants, for she was descended from John Alden and Priscilla Mullens, who had crossed in the Mayflower. Stephen and Zilpah Longfellow upheld the best traditions of their ancestry; they were of high character, broad culture and genuine piety. Stephen had been educated at Harvard, but having become a trustee of Bowdoin College, recently established by the State of Maine at Brunswick, it was there that he sent his son in 1822; and there three years later Henry graduated with such distinction that he was offered, subject to the completion of further studies in Europe, the professorship of modern languages which the trustees had decided to establish. He spent over three years in the old world, visiting France, Spain, Italy and Germany. In 1829 he took up his appointment at Bowdoin being, as one of his biographers puts it, 'one of the youngest scholars, probably the most accomplished scholar, in America'. Five years later George Tickner, first Smith Professor (French and Spanish) at Harvard, decided to resign, and recommended Longfellow as his successor. The professorship was now extended to cover all the modern language courses; and Longfellow was appointed with the proviso that he should visit Europe again to perfect his knowledge of German. He returned from Germany in 1836 and began his duties the following year, remaining at Harvard till 1854 when

he resigned, in order to devote himself entirely to literary work, and was succeeded by James Russell Lowell. He continued to reside at Craigie House, Cambridge, where he had been a boarder when he first came to Harvard, and which had been Washington's headquarters during the War of Independence.

There are numerous biographies of Longfellow, as well as essays and articles on his poetry, so that details of his life and writings need not detain us here. It must be recorded, however, that during his quiet, studious and prosperous life he more than once knew crushing sorrow. In 1831 he married Mary Storer Petter ; four years later she accompanied him to Europe, in joyful anticipation of returning with him to Harvard, but in November 1835 she took ill and died at Rotterdam. His short married life had been very happy, and his deep grief was not lightened by the reticence of his sensitive nature. His second marriage, to Frances Elizabeth Appleton, took place in 1843; equally happy, and lasting longer, it had a still more tragic end in 1861, when Mrs Longfellow was fatally burned through her clothing being ignited during a game with her children. Once again his friends were saddened by the knowledge that his avoidance of all allusion thereafter to his wife was a sign of the inward anguish which he suffered throughout the twenty years that remained to him.

Nor was Longfellow's academic life without its vexations; we cannot enter on the subject here, but may mention the interesting volume by Carl L. Johnson, Professor Longfellow of Harvard (Oregon University Press, 1944), which, besides telling the story of his professional career contains many extracts from letters written by and to the poet.

Longfellow's stature as an original poet will always be a matter of controversy, and his reputation is likely to fluctuate with changes in the critical viewpoint. His immense prestige with his contemporaries was

inevitably short-lived; these very elements in his style which ensured his popularity in a land whose self-consciousness was still only developing, his blend of homely simplicity, facile ornament and sentimental pathos, and above all his fatal fluency, did him most discredit with the age that followed. It is probable too that his studies, spread over seven or eight languages, tended to disperse his energies and weaken his concentration. His undoubted gifts of sensibility and expression never seemed quite to focus themselves; his work contains many admirable fragments, many striking experiments, but as a whole it lacks direction and cohesion. The sequence of six sonnets entitled 'Divina Commedia', three of which will be found in most editions of his translation, is perhaps as favourable a specimen of Longfellow's poetic genius as could be selected; it contains some passages as noble as anything in our language, and one unforgettable line, 'This medieval miracle of song'. The first sonnet, beginning 'Oft have I seen at some cathedral door', is well-nigh perfect, for here Longfellow's fondness for Latin polysyllables is made to serve his main design; but in the others he is often trembling on the verge of a cliché, and the third sonnet sinks at its end to intolerable bathos:

And then a voice celestial, that begins
With the pathetic words, 'Although your sins
As scarlet be', and ends with 'as the snow'.

With translation the case is different. Longfellow's verbal competence stood him in good stead in the hundred or so poetic versions which he made from perhaps a dozen different languages, although the results vary in success. His first published book was a translation of the famous Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique, very well executed and recently given high praise by so knowledgeable a critic as Mr Roy Campbell (see article on Thomas ~~Ram~~ Westen Ramsey). Longfellow was also successful with the lyrics of Müller and Ugland, and his rendering of Lope de Vega's '¿Que tengo yo, que mi amistad procuras?' is

^{excellent,}
~~is well-nigh perfect,~~ save for his perverse habit of ending sonnets with an Alexandrine. He made various experiments: his Virgilian hexameters and Ovidian elegiacs are good in parts; his attempts to make French Alexandrines into English ones are hopeless.

By far his most important translation is the Divine Comedy. His interest in Dante began early and continued throughout his life. As early as 1839 he included in the volume Voices of the Night versions of several passages from the Purgatorio, viz. II.13-51; XXVII.1-53; XXX.13-33, 85-99; and XXXI.13-21. These are all in the unrhymed terzine which he used later for his complete translation, and although he made some changes, mostly in the direction of increased literalness, his style and vocabulary are substantially the same as in the final form. These translations followed immediately on his first lecture course on Dante at Harvard; throughout his professorship there he continued to lecture on Dante; and in 1845, by which date he had already set to work on a complete translation of the Purgatorio, he included in his anthology, The Poets and Poetry of Europe, an essay on Dante. The work of translation proceeded slowly; his diary records that he finished the second cantica in 1853, but it remained unpublished for many years. After his wife's death he went to work again, much faster this time, and had the whole Comedy completed early in 1863, the Inferno having been done last. Even then he refrained from publishing until he had spent nearly two years in revision. Eventually the Inferno was hurried through the press so that advance copies could be sent to Italy for the sexcentenary celebrations of 1865; the Purgatorio appeared in 1866 and the Paradise in 1867. During the latter year all three parts were published in London at short intervals, the pagination being continuous, and eventually they were combined in the one-volume edition of 1877. In 1867 also the translation was published in Leipzig by Tauchnitz as

volumes 901-3 in their Collection of British Authors. There have been numerous reprints both in Britain and America, and several other editions, including pocket size, folio and illustrated volumes.

During the final revision of the translation Longfellow enjoyed the advice and co-operation of a number of friends, including his successor Lowell and a younger colleague, Charles Eliot Norton, each of whom in turn maintained the tradition inaugurated at Harvard by Longfellow's Dante lectures. The story of their weekly meetings at the poet's house, when the translation was read and discussed canto by canto, remind us of Ticknor's account of how, thirty years earlier, he was the guest of Philalethes at one of the meetings of the latter's friends and helpers to discuss the prince's unpublished *Purgatorio*. Thus even before it reached the public Longfellow's translation already accomplished a great deal by interesting the men who were to make Dante known to the younger American generation, and in Norton he found as enthusiastic a disciple as any teacher could desire.

It was unfortunate that Longfellow, after expending such effort on his translation and the explanatory notes and illustrations that accompanied it, should have published it without a single word of preface or introduction. He may have desired to avoid falling into the error of some predecessors by enunciating a theory of translation of which his practice fell short; but it is obvious that some of his adverse critics failed to understand the kind of version that he had aimed at making. Later Longfellow wrote:

. . . The only merit my book has is that it is exactly what Dante says, and not what the translator imagines he might have said if he had been an Englishman. In other words, while making it rhythmic, I have endeavoured to make it also as literal as a prose translation. . . . In translating Dante, something must be relinquished. Shall it be the beautiful rhyme that blossoms all along the line like a honeysuckle on the hedge? It must be, in order to retain something more precious than rhyme, namely, fidelity, truth, - the life of the hedge itself.

... The business of a translator is to report what the author says, not to explain what he means; that is the work of the commentator. What an author says, and how he says it, that is the problem of the translator.

Dr Werner P. Friederich (D.F.A., p. 548) comments:

Longfellow saw his task similar to that of a witness in court: to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, to give the facts as they were, and not to try to interpret and twist them for his readers.

Dr Friederich also quotes Lowell as referring to Longfellow's translation as 'not the best possible, by any means, but as the best probable'; the verdict of William Dean Howells, another member of the company who assisted Longfellow in his revision:

Opening the book, we stand face to face with the poet, and when his voice ceases we may well marvel if he has not sung to us in his own Tuscan;

and W. C. Bryant's eulogy in a letter dated 1867:

... Mr Longfellow has translated Dante as a great poet should be translated. After this version, no other will be attempted until the present form of the English language shall have become obsolete, for, whether we regard fidelity to the sense, aptness in the form of the expression, or the skilful transfusion of the poetic spirit of the original into the phrases of another language, we can look for nothing more perfect.

George W. Greene, another of Longfellow's helpers and one of his closest friends, was almost equally laudatory. Norton himself was the most active panegyrist of all. The translation, he said, was 'the best that has ever been made of the Divine Comedy into English' and 'hardly likely to be superseded or surpassed'. In a long article in the North American Review (July 1867), of which he was joint editor with Lowell, he set forth his theories of translation and demonstrated that Longfellow's rendering was 'the most faithful of Dante, that has ever been made', comparing it, to their disadvantage, with several earlier versions. For a full account of this, and other contemporary American reactions, Dr La Piana's Dante's American

Pilgrimage, ch. V, should be consulted. Only brief reference is made here to some leading opinions. The most vocal of all the adverse critics was Edward J. Sears, the Irish editor of the National Quarterly Review, who already regarded the 'Boston Brahmins' as natural enemies, and was glad to have an opportunity of a thrust at them. He weakened his case by overstating it, impugning Longfellow's scholarship, motives and personal character as well as finding fault with the actual translation. John Fiske, who reviewed the book in the New York World, thought the enterprise a failure owing to the system of line for line translation used; he admitted that in one sense the rendering was faithful, but insisted that it suffered from two great defects, frequent syntactic inversion and Latinised vocabulary. T. W. Hunter, writing in the Philadelphia Press, averred that all the poetical flavour of the original had vanished, while he found the notes and illustrations lacking in up-to-date scholarship. Norton continued his championship of Longfellow in further articles, criticising the critics, but forced to take the defensive and to try to justify his former encomiums.

It can be seen that the admirers of the new translation were for the most part those who were 'in the know'; many of them had actually cooperated in its construction, and had therefore become thoroughly familiar with the principles on which the blank terzine were made. Once these had been accepted, Longfellow's rendering seemed natural, even inevitable (apart from the controversial point of the Romanic bias of his vocabulary). The idea, however, was new. It is true that Pollock had published a version in blank terzine in 1854, but it was in many ways unsatisfactory and not at all the kind of literal representation aimed at by Longfellow. Other previous translators had either used continuous blank verse like Cary, or attempted terza rima or some other rhymed equivalent, in all cases remodelling

their matter to suit the medium. To turn from Cary or Wright to Longfellow was a startling change; the former were at least using the traditional form and phrase of English poetry, whereas the latter had a shape and a turn of expression quite unfamiliar. That it produced just such an effect on many readers is evident from their comments. The Athenaeum (18th May 1867, pp. 655-6) said:

It is not prose - we can scarcely call it poetry - but it is rather poetic-prose in a tripartite arrangement.

This review is said to have been written by H. C. Barlow. In the same article fifteen lines of Longfellow's version are compared with the corresponding passage of Carlyle's, with the remark that they agree very closely, which of course is hardly surprising. The Athenaeum reviews of the two later volumes (29th June 1867, pp. 845-6; 10th August 1867, pp. 171-2), apparently by a different writer, are also different in tone. Longfellow's *Purgatorio* receives high praise:

We know of no translation in English in which the beautiful and profound thoughts of Dante in his *Purgatorio* are rendered with a more conscientious, loving regard, and laudable desire to do him honour, than in this very literal version of Professor Longfellow, which will remain a standard of comparison among English readers, and will be of advantage also to those who are equally familiar with both languages, for here is the production of a master in each.

The verdict on *Paradiso* is less enthusiastic:

He keeps close in the poet's wake; and though Calliope is not found in his company, nor does Apollo favour his design, yet he makes a most respectable figure. . . . In this new version we have Dante's heaven, but without its divine harmony. The music of the spheres will not bear translation.

Similar differences in opinion have continued among later critics down to the present time; but before attempting to sum up we must consider the qualities of the translation itself.

First of all, so far as literal accuracy is concerned, little fault can be found. There are none of those blunders which mar many other

translations, both earlier and later. There are certainly quite a number of readings and interpretations now recognised as inferior, but all these were current at the date in question, and Longfellow did not have access to the results of the more enlightened textual criticism in which both Witte and Moore, for example, were then engaged. Something more will be said on this subject when we come to Norton's translation. There are one or two minor inaccuracies, but they are not worth enumerating.

Longfellow's attempt to reproduce Dante with photographic accuracy has at times the paradoxical effect of actually introducing inaccuracy. We do not preserve either the matter or manner of a sentence by transposing its grammatical and etymological features into another language. The fact that 'indignant' and 'irrigate' are cognate with 'indegno' and 'rigavan' does not make 'That of all pause it seemed to me indignant' or 'These did their faces irrigate with blood' good renderings of Inf. III.54, 67. 'Evil comfort' in English is not the same thing as 'mai conforti' in Italian (Inf. XXVIII.135), nor 'puerile conceit' as 'pueril coto' (Par. III.26). When we get a few such etymological equivalents coming together the effect can be devastating, e.g.

Other	That circumvallate that disconsolate city	(Inf. VIII.77)
Kind	O thou septentrional and widowed site	(Purg. I.26)
	Against the sunbeams serotine and lucent	(Purg. XV.141)
	'Thy words and my sequacious intellect,'	(Purg. VIII.36)
	I answered him, 'have love revealed to me;	
	But that has made me more impregnated with doubt.'	(Purg. XVIII.40-2)
	Incoronate each one with verdant leaf	(Purg. XXIX.93)
	Most lubrical with their delicious milk	(Par. XXIII.57)
	The lofty triumph of the realm veracious	(Par. XXX.98)

Apart, however, from using such equivalents, Longfellow often prefers a

Latin word to the commoner native one, e.g. 'impelled me to explore thy volume' (Inf. I.84). In the same canto 'disconsolate', a favourite word of his, occurs twice in twenty lines = 'dolenti' (116) and 'mesti' (135). So 'detriment' = 'danno' (Inf. XXVIII.99); 'discomfiture' = 'rotta' (Inf. XXXI.16); 'instantaneous' = 'subitana' (^{Purg.}Par. III.1); 'That seemeth to deplore the dying day' = 'che paia il giorno pianger che si more' (Purg. VIII.6); 'aliments' = 'dape' (Par. XXIII.43); 'equivocating in such like prelections' = 'equivocando in sì fatta lettura' (Par. XXIX.75). The Paradiso in particular has a great array of words like 'affluent', 'effulgent', 'coruscate', 'scintillate', 'circulate', 'inebriate', etc., sometimes identical with the Italian words but at others replacing simpler ones. Perhaps the most jarring example is Inf. V.136: 'Kissed me upon the mouth all palpitating'.

It must, on the other hand, be conceded that Longfellow at times uses his polysyllables to good effect, as in the first of his Dante sonnets. One of his best~~x~~ terzine is Purg. III.34-6:

Insane is he who hopeth that our reason
Can traverse the illimitable way,
Which the one Substance in three Persons follows!

Other examples will be noted in the extracts; one or two good lines of this kind are:

Commingled are they with that caitiff choir (Inf. III.37)

As faculty confounded by excess (Purg. VIII.36)

With affirmation that compels belief (Purg. XXVI.105)

And a delicious melody there ran

Along the luminous air, whence holy zeal
Made me rebuke the hardihood of Eve (Purg. XXIX.22-4)

Silence imposed upon that dulcet lyre

And quieted the consecrated chords,
That Heaven's right hand doth tighten and relax (Par. XV.4-6)

The 'photographic' method necessarily involves many inversions and distortions in accordance with Longfellow's plan for line-by-line transposition, in which he perseveres very faithfully. These are often awkward, especially at a first reading, but they are certainly helpful to the student, and up to a point convey a notion of Dante's manner of expressing himself. The absence of inflexions in English, however, makes such a sentence as Purg. XXII.130-1:

But soon their sweet discourses interrupted
A tree which midway in the road we found,

far from being a satisfactory substitute for:

Ma tosto ruppe le dolci ragioni
un alber che trovammo in mezza strada.

So, while Italian, with its soft line endings, can tolerate such a division as:

così vid' io l'uno dall'altro grande
principe glorioso essere accolto,

the same division jars in English:

So one beheld I by the other grand
Prince glorified to be with welcome greeted.

The same difficulty arises with Italian idioms and constructions. Sometimes their preservation is effective and striking, e.g. the well-known 'With sight of this one I am not unfed' (Inf. XVIII.42) or the ingenious 'I by not doing, not by doing, lost . . . ' (Purg. VII.25). On the other hand, 'That Frederick used to put them on of straw' (Inf. XXIII.66) or 'I think with wonder I depicted me' (Purg. II.82) are simply not English at all. This persistence has led to the complaint that Longfellow often renders Dante so literally as to obscure the meaning, or even allows it to escape altogether. The following passage from Purg. XXV (lines 37 ff) shows him at his worst.

The perfect blood, which never is drunk up
Into the thirsty veins, and which remaineth
Like food that from the table thou removest,
Takes in the heart for all the human members
Virtue informative, as being that
Which to be changed to them goes through the veins.
Again digest, descends it where 'tis better
Silent to be than say; and then drops thence
Upon another's blood in natural vase.
There one together with the other mingles,
One to be passive meant, the other active
By reason of the perfect place it springs from;
And being conjoined, begins to operate
Coagulating first, then vivifying
What for its matter it had made consistent.
The active virtue, being made a soul
As of a plant, (in so far different,
This on the way is, that arrived already),
Then works so much, that now it moves and feels
Like a sea-fungus, and then undertakes
To organise the powers whose seed it is.
Now, Son, dilates and now distends itself
The virtue from the generator's heart,
Where nature is intent on all the members.
But how from animal it man becomes
Thou dost not see as yet; this is a point
Which made a wiser man than thou once err
So far, that in his doctrine separate
He made the soul from possible intellect,
For he no organ saw by this assumed.

This is admittedly a difficult exposition in any case, but the difficulty is increased by the method of translation.

There are occasional lapses in Longfellow, not apparently due to any of the above tendencies; his acceptance of so many inversions probably led him to let them creep in where there was no need. 'That tremble made the everlasting air' (Inf. IV.27) or 'Go to my daughter beautiful' (Purg. III.115) merely jar. There are some lame lines which seem to have been overlooked in revision, e.g.

And if they were before Christianity (Inf. IV.37)

We therefore on the right side descended (Inf. XVII.31)

and some rather ill-worded ones:

Within we entered without any contest (Inf. IX.106)
Which gathered together perforate that cavern (Inf. XIV.114)
Meanwhile along the mountain-side across (Purg. V.22)
Her mother her, and she herself the Spring (Purg. XXVIII.51)
And when it was created was his mind / Replete (Par. XII.58)

and we have several faults combined in:

Bonaventura of Bagnoregio's life
Am I, who always in great offices
Postponed considerations sinister. (Par. XII.127-9)

Only very occasionally does Longfellow produce lines of the kind so common in Philalethes and later in Lee-Hamilton:

If they were banished they returned on all sides (Inf. X.49)

Thus are not went to do the feet of dead men (Inf. XII.82)

A few rather slovenly colloquialisms, perhaps more tolerable to American ears, occur, e.g.

Which honours thee, and those who've listened to it (Inf. II.114)

He I know not, but I had been dead beat (Inf. XXIV.36)

Open thy breast unto the truth that's coming (Purg. V.67)

Look at me well; in sooth I'm Beatrice (Purg. XXX.73)

To kings who're many and the good are rare (Par. XIII.108)

Having indicated at some length the defects and limitations of Longfellow's version, we must say that it has also many virtues. It is accurate, conscientious, dignified, the work of one who was a poet himself, and who loved, valued and honoured the greater poet whom he set himself to translate. Being a student and teacher, his version was primarily intended to make Dante more accessible to the English-speaking races. Since he aimed at making his version as clear a reflection of Dante as he could, he attempted no remodelling or ornamentation, no fusing of the original matter

and manner with his individual contribution. Circumstances, moreover, gave the Divine Comedy an even more important place in his life than it had held during his professorship, for he found in it almost his only solace after the tragedy of 1861, which affected him far more grievously than any but his closest friends realised. In a sense what his translation contains in addition to the reflection of Dante is an unconscious touch of his own best genius, restrained from its wonted vagaries through being tied to the text of a master with a surer touch. It is noticeable that commentators writing in English frequently quote Longfellow's version because he so often manages to get an expression just right, with a flavour which it loses in prose, and with a fidelity seldom possible in rhyme.

There are, it must be admitted, certain limitations and deficiencies inevitably attached to the blank terzine form. Something more will be said on this subject in a later article.

We have already mentioned some lines effectively rendered in Longfellow's Latinised vocabulary. The following are some other attractive lines which owe their merit to other features.

Thus they returned along the lurid circle
On either hand unto the opposite point,
Shouting their shameful metre evermore. (Inf. VII.31-3)

Thus was descending the eternal heat,
Whereby the sand was set on fire, like tinder
Beneath the steel, for doubling of the dole. (Inf. XIV.37-9)

The dawn was vanquishing the matin hour
Which fled before it, so that from afar
I recognised the trembling of the sea. (Purg. I.115-7)

For tears and laughter are such pursuivants
Unto the passion from which each springs forth,
In the most truthful least the will they follow. (Purg. XXI.106-8)

Even as the Blessed at the final summons
Shall rise up quickened each one from his cavern,
Uplifting light the reinvested flesh . . . (Purg. XXX.13-15)

Will be a savour of strong herbs to many (Par. XVII.117)

Whatever melody most sweetly soundeth

On earth, and to itself most draws the soul,

Would seem a cloud that, rent asunder, thunders (Par. XXIII.97-9)

Light intellectual replete with love,

Love of true good replete with ecstacy,

Ecstasy that transcendeth every sweetness. (Par. XXX.40-2)

One or two other short extracts from Longfellow are given, by way of comparison, in other articles.

With a view to doing justice to Longfellow's more sustained style, and also of affording a comparison with other writers in the New England tradition, representative passages from his translation and from those of his successors have been reproduced in Appendix II. Of these Inf. VII.73-96, Purg. XXVII.70-90 and Par. XXX.16-33 are favourable samples of Longfellow. The usual test passages will be found in Appendix I, although these hardly show him at his best.

Among the accusations contained in Sears' attack on Longfellow was one to the effect that his notes were mainly taken from those of earlier translators, 'omitting often the most valuable, and substituting in their stead the platitudes of friends' (the last is a tilt mainly against Norton, who was quoted once or twice). There does not appear to be any substance in the indictment: Longfellow's notes are mainly factual, intended to help readers to understand the allusions; they contain information culled from a great variety of sources, showing the width of the translator's scholarship. Again Sears says that the 'Illustrations' printed at the end of each cantica consist of 'indifferent' passages from the writings of his friends, who in return bestow their praise on him. A summary of these Illustrations will dispose of this charge. The first set contains one or two passages from Dante's contemporaries, an essay by Norton on Dante's portraits (a subject

on which he was well qualified to write), an essay by Lowell on 'The Posthumous Dante', two extracts from Milman, extracts from Odyssey XI and Aeneid VI, Cicero's 'Vision of Scipio', and translations of such source material as St. Patrick's Purgatory, St. Brandan, etc. The second set contains Carlyle's 'The Hero as Poet', Macaulay's 'Dante' and 'Dante and Milton', and extracts from Leigh Hunt, Milman, Ruskin and Schelling. The third set are all but one in French: Voltaire, Rivarol, Lamartine, Quinet, Ozanam, Lamennais, Labitte, and lastly Stehelin on 'Cabala'. Such were the allaged 'indifferent' writings of the poet's venal friends. Actually the Illustrations served a most useful purpose, for they provided the reader with information not so readily available in a new country before the emergence of a voluminous Dante literature.

Longfellow's historical importance is very great; ably following up the pioneer efforts of Tickner, he set American Dante scholarship on a firm basis, and by his translation made the Divine Comedy known to many to whom it might otherwise have been inaccessible. The popularity of his translation was in a large measure due to his personal prestige. Longfellow was the poet of the American 'man in the street' in a way that his more gifted rivals were not; it is not too much to say that had all Longfellow's poetry been of the quality of the Dante sonnets, his influence with the general public would have been less. Much of his verse had little enduring value, but it served the useful purpose of waking the literary consciousness of those whom higher forms would not have reached. Again, he was one of the foremost academic figures of his age, and therefore commanded the confidence of students and men of letters. He has merited the respect and affection of subsequent lovers of Dante, and although in many respects his work has been superseded during the eighty years since it was published, his translation is still an indispensable adjunct of every Dante library.

JAMES FORD

The Inferno of Dante. Translated in the metre of the original. By James Ford, A.M., Prebendary of Exeter. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 65 Cornhill. MDCCCLXV. Foolscap octavo, pp. xviii, 187. Preface, pp. vii-xviii; text, Italian and English on facing pages (no arguments or notes), folios 16180; indexes I (partitions of Hell) and II (names of persons arranged by circles), pp. 181-7.

The Divina Commedia of Dante. Translated into English verse by James Ford, A.M., Prebendary of Exeter, and formerly of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place. 1870. Foolscap octavo, pp. xvi, 430. Preface, pp. vii-xvi; English text (no arguments or notes), pp. 1-421; indexes I to III (partitions of the three realms), pp. 422-30.

James Ford (1797-1877) was the younger son of Sir Richard Ford, who held the post of Chief Magistrate at Bow Street from 1800 till his premature death in 1806 at the age of forty-eight. James was sent to Rugby, and thence to Oriel College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1818 and M.A. in 1821. After holding various curacies and chaplainships, he became a Prebendary of Exeter in 1849, from which office he resigned in 1872. The family had estates in Cornwall, and James succeeded to that of Polkinhorne in Gulval. He was a member of the Royal Institution of Cornwall. His wife, Jane Frances Nagle, inherited the estate of Pengreep from her maternal grandfather, John Beauchamp. Their only son, who rose to the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Scots Fusilier Guards, died at the age of forty-one a few days after his father. Ford published a few other books: The Four Gospels, described as '(illustrated, chiefly in the doctrinal and moral sense, from Ancient and Modern Authors', ran to six volumes; Twelve Sermons dates from his chaplaincy to the Liverydole Almshouse at Heavitree (1835-7); Steps to the Sanctuary contains 'the order for Morning Prayer set forth and explained in verse'; and he also translated from the Italian Segneri's Quaresimale. After his retirement he resided in Bath.

The preface to the 1865 volume, whose publication coincided with the centenary celebration of Dante's birth, contains an apology both for adding another to the numerous English translations, and for the inevitable shortcomings of such a work, enumerating some of the difficulties. The only individual translators referred to are Carlyle and Rossetti, both in complimentary terms; Ford knew them personally and he expresses gratitude for their help, and to Carlyle for permission to use his Italian text. He concludes without attempting to solve any of the questions raised:

We have thus enlarged on the arduous and hazardous nature of our undertaking, not merely to bespeak for it the utmost critical tolerance, but with the definite object of showing the improbability that any perfect success can, in the ordinary course of things, be attained, except after repeated endeavours. If this be so, then neither this nor any other translation subsequent to it can fairly be regarded as needless and uncalled for, still less as presumptuous and derogatory to those that have preceded it.

The preface to the complete Comedy of 1870 repeats most of the foregoing, and adds some important remarks. Ford had been criticised for including no notes of any kind in his edition of the *Inferno*; he now justified the continuation of this policy. Hardly any other prominent work, he said, has called forth such a host of commentators and controversialists as has the *Divine Comedy*.

. . . To consult and study the greater part of these is not only a weariness to the flesh, but labour spent without any adequate remuneration; it may be, with positive loss. The mind may be drawn into quite another channel; and the effect, designed by Poetry, may suffer in proportion. We may be substituting a dry knowledge of facts for the inspiring draughts of the living spring. Let the Reader of the *Commedia* endeavour, in the first place, to gain a clear and definite view of its main object and general outline. Let him be content for a season to remain ignorant of many things. . . . There seems to be a particular danger, in these days, of our informing the intellect, at the neglect of cultivating the taste and moral affections. Thus knowledge, the idol of our times, is acquired; but the feeling for Poetry of the highest order, such as speaks to the souls of men, and such as lifts up the mind to high and Heavenly things, is not cherished and improved, as it ought to be. For we must not forget that the principal aim of this Poem is one, Moral and Religious.

In one sense Ford was here a very long way ahead of his time, for the current was running the other way. For the next fifty years was to be the golden age of the commentators and controversialists. But while allowing him credit for adopting a point of view which has come into its own with the new century, we must remember that Ford's view of Dante's poetic qualities, as indicated in the foregoing, was somewhat different from ours, and concentrated mainly on the allegorical and moral significance of the Comedy. The protest is interesting, but it bore no fruit: longer introductions and more voluminous notes were the rule for many a year to come.

Between 1865 and 1870 Ford revised his version of the Inferno, improving some defective rhymes and awkward expressions. The 1870 volume contains no information as to the text used for Purgatorio and Paradiso, but inferior readings are noticeably numerous. The passages in Appendix I are taken from the 1870 edition.

Ford's translation is not much different in quality from those of his immediate predecessors and followers. An analysis of several test passages shows that his level of accuracy is much the same as that of Cayley, Dayman and Mrs Ramsay on the one hand, and of Minchin, Plumptre and Haselfoot on the other. Much the same result is obtained when literary achievement is examined. Ford is on the whole evenner than Dayman, but the evenness is a pedestrian one, and at his best he falls well below Dayman's best. His bad lapses are less frequent than those of Minchin and Plumptre. Pervading everything, however, there is the perpetual conflict of sense and rhyme, in which too often ^{both} are sacrificed in an unsatisfactory compromise.

Ford takes the usual liberties with his rhymes, though perhaps less frequently than some of the others. Thus we find 'teeth' rhyming with 'earth', 'thought' with 'distort', 'true' with 'go' and 'brow', 'one' with

'renown' and 'visión'. He also repeats the commoner rhyming sounds at short intervals, a practice which he justifies in the preface on the ground of the limited choice available in English. Strange expressions are often dragged in to complete a set of rhymes, or padding is inserted, thus:

And said: 'Their hearts with rancour fierce were steel'd
'Gainst me, and my progenitors, and clan;
So twice I chas'd them from the battlefield.' (Inf. X.43-8)

Now art thou under what is the reverse
Of that half-sphere, which the dry spacious land
O'er covers, and beneath whose top a curse
Once died the Man, who ne'er with sin was stain'd. (Inf. XXXIV.112-5)

Soon as this fell upon my wondering eye
The lofty virtue, which had struck me through,
Ere yet my youth had reach'd its puberty. . . (Purg. XXX.40-2)

Thus she address'd me: then the Heavenly bride
'Ave Maria' sang; and with that song
Vanish'd, in waters deep as bodies glide. (Par. III.121-3)

Obscurity and awkwardness often result:

Below the sinners ran with bodies nude;
From the Well, hitherward, they met our face;
Beyond, they join'd us, but more quick pursued. (Inf. XVIII.25-7)

Already was the air obscur'd and brown,
Yet not so much, that 'tween our eyes thereby
Might not be trac'd what was in distance thrown. (Purg. VIII.49-51)

Ner bliss the soul first wills: but other will
Checks, as it thwarted sin, on earth, before -
'Tis here the wish God's justice to fulfil. (Purg. XXI.64-6)

Hence unto those, with intellect endow'd,
Known His Eternal Power; hence gain'd the end,
Wherefore this order was devis'd for good. (Par. I.106-8)

The expository passages are frequently very weak, the logic of the argument disappearing in the struggle for metre:

How this may be - ponder it well, I pray,
With thoughts retir'd: imagine Sion's height,
As if, on earth, it with this Mountain lay,
And one horizon should to both bring light
The hemispheres apart; along the line,
Which Phaeton ill knew to keep aright,

Thou wouldst behold the sun careering shine
On one, and then on th' other adverse side;
If clear thy ken discerneth things divine. (Purg. IV.67-75)

Three mirrors shalt thou take: like distant two
Place from thyself; a third more far away
Between each glass, extending to thy view.
Behind thee, and towards thee, if thou lay
A light, the which on these shall clearly shine,
And on thee render back its gather'd ray,
Although the hindermost in lesser line
Strike on thine eye, yet shalt thou clear behold
Equal the brightness of the mirrors trine. (Par. II.97-105)

Some of the best passages in the poem fall very flat, their essential character being lost, e.g.

And now already on the ruffled tide
Came crashing a rude noise, so dread to hear,
That both the banks quaked, as if terrified:
Much like a wind, uncheck'd in its career,
By adverse heated air more furious made,
That smites the forest, and brings havoc drear
To branches, flowers, and all the prostrate glade:
Then, roll'd in dust, pursues its lordly way -
The wild beasts scud, the shepherds fly dismay'd. (Inf. IX.64-72)

Ford also uses from time to time superfluous ornamentation which only serves to spoil the effect:

O piteous she, who help'd me, when distress'd!
Thou courteous, too, obsequious to obey
The truthful mandates of her gentle breast! (Inf. ~~Purg.~~ II.133-5)

But Sacerdotal curse is not supreme
Eternal Love's reversal sweet to stay,
While yet fair hope can cast a verdant gleam. (Purg. III.133-5)

Although in amber dusk the limpid stream
Glided beneath o'erhanging shades, that ne'er
Gave access to the sun, nor lunar beam. (Purg. XXVIII.31-3)

Some other curiosities, many of which raise an unwanted smile, are given below:

Yet know, in brief, that all were Clergymen (Inf. XV.106)

O Reader, here's a novel gamesome scene! (Inf. XXII.118)

Though I was propp'd, and he a naked sprite (Inf. XXIV.32)

With foot uprais'd, before the Sacred chest,
The humble Psalmist danc'd in sportive mood. (Purg. X.64-5)

Champing on vacancy his grinders sad (Purg. XXIV.28)

None can export them from their native place (Par. X.70)

In the extracts given, some inaccuracies have doubtless been noticed; in many places Ford fails to convey Dante's meaning adequately. That this is frequently due to misunderstanding of his original is clear from the following examples:

As where, some castle's rampart to defend,
The circling moats in many sections wind,
And to the ground imposing aspect lend. (Inf. XVIII.12-14)

Haste to my beauteous daughter, thee I pray,
The boast of Aragon, Sicilia's pride (Purg. III.115-6)

Who in the rear some distance chanc'd to be (Purg. XXVII.48)

A voice that sang behind us guidance lent (Purg. XXVII.55)

Fain would I know what was the web, which she
Left on the shuttle, ere the thread was spun (Par. III.95-6)

Jordan, full sure, was forc'd to retrograde,
God speaking; back in terror fled the main -
Less marvels, than if here He granted aid. (Par. XXII.94-6)

As by its half and quarter ten is known (Par. XXVII.117)

The fifth and last examples above indicate that Ford had some difficulty with practical metaphors, and this is borne out by Par. V.58-60:

Consider, too, all commutation vain,
Unless to that releas'd the thing supplied
Be, as a sixth, which does the four contain.

The passages from Ford which are reproduced in Appendix I are quite typical, and contain samples of the faults noted. Occasional cacophony will also be noted, e.g. at the end of the Ulysses passage.

Occasionally one comes across a tercine that seems quite attractive; sometimes, perhaps, because of the inferior context rather than through its own merits, for instance:

Follow my steps; leave folk to their discourse:

Stand, like a tower immovable, that ne'er

Vails its proud crest, for all the whirlwind's force. (Purg. V.13-15)

Nor yet had circled once, when a new train

Like to the former, clos'd it all around,

Each answering step with step, and strain with strain. (Par. XII.4-6)

One contemporary reviewer commended the simile of Purg. III.79-84:

Forth from the fold as troop a flock of sheep,

By one, two, three; while th' others still stand by,

Timid, and low aground their faces keep,

And, with the leader all at once comply;

Stop, if she stops, quick huddling to her side,

Simple, and still; nor know the reason why.

Another reviewer commended several passages, including Purg. XXIV.94-9:

Just as in battle, ere two armies close,

Forth from the horsemen pricks a gallant knight,

To pluck the first bright laurel from the foes;

Our presence thus, only with swifter flight,

He left; I stay'd with the illustrious Two,

Lords of the world on wisdom's glorious height.

The other passages mentioned in this article contain some similar flowers of rhetoric, so that the commendation is probably a reflection of the taste of the time.

The reception of Ford's translation was mixed. The Athenaeum (21st January 1871, pp. 72-3) was surprisingly generous and called it 'a scholarly translation, in some respects a decided advance on the labours of his predecessors . . . it deserves praise for its accuracy and fidelity'. The Saturday Review (25th March 1871) was by no means so complimentary; indeed the article suggests that Ford's apparent modesty in his preface is a disingenuous anticipation of criticism. Several wrong interpretations are pointed out, and the review concludes: 'he has some talent for the work he has undertaken, if he did not so disguise it with rash haste or slovenliness'. The Academy (15th February 1871, pp. 126-8) carried a signed review by Henry Fanshawe Tozer. He also pointed out some errors, and then compared

Ford's translation with Cayley's, which he seemed to regard as the best standard (he mentions no other terza rima version):

Ford has a greater command of rhyme than Cayley and generally his verse has a smoother and easier flow; but Mr Cayley, though somewhat the stiffer of the two, is more accurate and certainly more pointed. . . . We should therefore give the palm to Mr Cayley, though at the same time recognising the great merits of the translation before us.

In support of his comparison he mentions several passages, including the Ulysses one. The faint praise of the composite article in Blackwood's Magazine (June 1867), referring to Ford's Inferno, has already been quoted in the article on Brooksbank. Tomlinson, in the preface to his Inferno (1877), makes disparaging mention of Ford's Inferno, but does not seem to be aware that the whole Comedy had been published in 1870. It is pleasant to record a handsome tribute paid by William Michael Rossetti in a footnote to XXIV.6 in his own Inferno which appeared a few months before Ford's:

. . . a forthcoming translation to which I take the present opportunity of alluding. It is a terza rima translation by the Rev. Prebendary Ford, of Exeter, shortly to be published . . . and is of so distinguished a degree of merit that, had I seen it before my prefatory remarks were in print, I should have felt bound to modify the opinion there intimated that terza rima translation need scarcely be re-attempted after Mr Cayley's version. Excellent as that version is, probably unsurpassable, Mr Ford's has convinced me that another experiment in terza rima was well worth making.

In spite of this, however, we can only say that while Ford maintained a standard which compared respectably with his immediate predecessors, his translation brought no new contribution towards the problem of rendering Dante in English. As with so many other versions, the first edition was also the last.

DAVID JOHNSTON

Translation of Dante's Inferno by David Johnston. Bath: Printed at the 'Chronicle' Office, Kingston Buildings. MDCCCLXVII. Demy octavo, 202 pages. Title page, followed by English text printed in terzine; no arguments or notes of any kind.

Translation of Dante's Purgatorio by David Johnston. Bath: Printed at the 'Chronicle' Office, Kingston Buildings. MDCCCLXVII. Demy octavo, pp. viii, 203. Dedication to 'my very kind friend, the Rev. James Ford'; foreword (unheaded), pp. v-vii; very brief 'argument' explaining structure of Purgatory, p. viii; English text printed in terzine, with brief argument at head of each canto, pp. 1-203; frontispiece consisting of a photographic print of the Giotto fresco of Dante, pasted down on leaf.

Translation of Dante's Paradiso by David Johnston. Bath: Printed at the 'Chronicle' Office, Kingston Buildings. MDCCCLXVIII. Demy octavo, pp. viii, 201. Dedication to 'my dear Wife'; foreword (unheaded), pp. v-vii; short extract from the epistle to Can Grande, p. viii; English text, as Purgatorio, pp. 1-201; frontispiece showing monument to Dante in Santa Croce, Florence, similar style to that in previous volume.

N.B. Owing to an unfortunate mistake, the new printing of the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books, of which the earlier parts have been published, gives the date of Johnston's translation of all three parts of the Comedy as 1847 and places it chronologically in that position (column 53); the entries were correctly printed in the old catalogue. While this mistake has been rectified in the Reading Room copy of the catalogue, it will probably be found in the copies possessed by other libraries and in the Dante section issued separately by Routledge.

David Johnston, although he produced several substantial books, remains a shadowy figure. In spite of many inquiries, and the co-operation of several librarians and others, all that can be positively recorded of him is that he resided at 13 Marlborough Buildings, Bath (the address from which all his prefaces are dated) from 1867 onwards; that his name disappears from the Bath directories after the 1878-9 issue, but that Mrs Johnston continued to live at the same address for some years longer; and that he printed four other volumes of translations, three of which were of plays by Pierre Corneille, viz. Le Cid (1873), Cinna (1874) and Polyeucte (1876), the fourth being entitled Translations literal and free of the dying Hadrian's address

to his soul. All these books were printed at the author's expense, and all were produced in the same handsome style, on thick paper, bound in heavy boards, bevelled and tooled, with the monogram D.J. on the spine, uniform with the three Dante volumes. They do not appear to have been actually published or placed on sale, but were sent as presents to the author's friends and to libraries. Edinburgh University possesses presentation copies of the three Dante volumes, each with the name of the Library and the translator's autograph boldly written on the half title page. The National Library of Scotland has presentation copies of these and of the first two of the Corneille plays, all inscribed as gifts to the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. As is seen from the dedication of *Purgatorio*, Johnston was the friend of another Dante translator, Prebendary Ford of Exeter, who lived at Bath from his retirement in 1872 till his death in 1877, but was probably a visitor there earlier, and may have had a house in the city. The foregoing is the extent of the definite information about Johnston.

His name suggests Scottish origin, but there are no provincialisms in his writing that might confirm this. Some direct evidence is, however, afforded by a letter in Notes and Queries (4th ser., vol. II, 1868) from R. Wilbraham Falconer, M.D. Shortly before a list of English translations from Dante had been printed in the magazine; Dr Falconer inquires about David Johnston's translation, saying that he believes him to have been a M.D. of Edinburgh or Glasgow. No information in response to the latter point appears in later issues; a letter about the translation itself by W. M. Rossetti is quoted later in this article. No information can be found in Bath as to Johnston's connexion with the medical profession, nor as to his whereabouts prior to coming there; a search of the Bath newspapers has failed to reveal an obituary notice. There are, moreover, only two graduates

of Scottish universities who could possibly be identified with the translator. One graduated M.D. at Edinburgh in 1821; he is described in the graduation album as 'Scotus' and his thesis was 'De quibusdam Lucis effectibus'; he carried on practice in Edinburgh, first at 34 Queen Street, then at 21 Charlotte Square, till 1840-1, when his name disappears from the local directories. No trace of him is found thereafter, nor does his name occur in either the Medical Directory (1849 ff) or the Medical Register (1859 ff). The other David Johnston took his C.M. at Glasgow in 1819, being described as 'Hibernus' in the album. The Medical Directory records that he was medical superintendent at Ballycastle Dispensary in Ireland in 1831, and received the L.F.P. & S., Glasgow, in 1843. His name appears with a Glasgow address in the issues of 1852-3-4, being marked in the latter with an obelisk to indicate that no reply has been made to the last request for information; he is omitted from subsequent issues, and there is no further trace of him. The former seems on the whole the more possible of the two, and for what it is worth, Johnston's description of the experiment with mirrors in Par. II is very clear and well expressed!! On the other hand the explanation of the position of the sun in Purg. IV is so muddled as to throw doubt on the translator's having had a scientific training. The objection to both men is that they are too old; to qualify on the date mentioned they must have been born in the last decade of the previous century, whereas Johnston's vigorous period of translation from 1867-76 seems unlikely for a man of between seventy and eighty. Moreover, there is the difficulty of accounting for the long gap at an age when a doctor would almost certainly have been still in practice. Worst of all, there is no indication of the source of Dr Falconer's information which may, after all, have been wrong. Inquiries are still being made; meanwhile Johnston's identity remains quite uncertain.

As regards the circulation of Johnston's Dante, William Michael Rossetti, writing in Notes and Queries (1868) mentions that it was 'not, strictly speaking, published', while the Athenaeum reviewer (10th July 1869, pp. 48-9), who refers very briefly but quite favourably to the translation, after speaking of the Vernon quarto then newly issued, adds:

We have now to record a similar act of generosity in an English gentleman, Mr David Johnston, of Bath, who, to promote the study of Dante among his friends, has translated the poem, and printed it in three handsome volumes as a present, to encourage this laudable pursuit.

The *Inferno* was issued without any introductory matter whatever; in his foreword to the *Purgatorio* Johnston says:

My own deep admiration of Dante having made me desirous ~~of~~ ^{of} drawings towards the *Divina Commedia* the attention of friends who have perhaps not studied it otherwise than as a task in their earlier years, I have ventured to turn them again to its study as a pleasure by the obligations of friendship. I thank my friends most warmly for the kind reception they have been pleased to give to my Translation of the *Inferno*; I now beg their acceptance of the *Purgatorio*.

That Johnston was a man of ability and culture is evident from the series of translations which he produced. One's faith in his poetic judgment is somewhat weakened by finding that he attempted the absurd task of rendering Corneille's plays in rhymed Alexandrines to correspond exactly with the metre of the original. It seems strange that, having been content with blank verse for his Dante, he did not use that, or heroic couplets, for Corneille. We may remember that Saintsbury remarked that dodecasyllabic couplets are 'an impossible metre in English' and called Drayton's Polyolbion 'the worst sustained forlorn hope in all prosodic history'; but his opinion of blank *terzine* was equally low. The former metre may pass muster as an occasional ornament or variation, as perhaps in Lamia, or more dubiously in Fifine at the Fair; for dramatic dialogue in English it is hopeless. It was a convenient unit in French during the classical period where room had to be

found for mute syllables; moreover in a language which has no tonic accent strong enough to provide a basis for metrical feet, it allowed space for the manipulation of sentence stress. The difference is readily seen by putting Corneille's 'Je rendrai mon sang pur comme je l'ai reçu' alongside Johnston's 'I render up my blood pure as it was received'. Nor does the latter's frequent attempt to obtain relief from monotony by avoiding the medial caesura do more than make matters worse, e.g. There is for instance a frequent and

Vain, vain is all my labour, useless is my quest,
Enfeebled as I am, I have no moment's rest;
Of that small share of vigour which old age has left,
In searching for the conqueror, I am quite bereft.

When Rossetti wrote to Notes and Queries in 1868 to announce that he had obtained a copy of Johnston's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* he added:

The merit of the translation is certainly such as to qualify it for wider diffusion than circumstances give it at present.

In view of the fact that his own translation, made on the same principle in blank terzine and published three years earlier, had been coldly received, this spontaneous tribute is a valuable one. Johnston himself makes no reference to his selection of metre, but by that date, with Pollock's and Longfellow's versions available, the form was well established. Johnston himself must have been at work, however, before Rossetti's or Longfellow's translations were published, although he may have seen the fragments of the latter included in Voices of the Night. His friendship with Ford, evidently on a firm footing by 1867, makes it probable that they had discussed the various methods of translation, and the fact that Ford was already committed to terza rima may have influenced Johnston to choose blank verse. Fortunately he was not in this instance overcome by the urge to preserve the syllabic content, otherwise he might have anticipated later attempts to render Dante in hendecasyllables. But vigour is a characteristic of his

work, and he would doubtless realise that feminine endings become intolerably monotonous in English verse.

Internal evidence suggests that Johnston's translation might have been begun many years earlier and completed after a lapse of time. There are irritating mannerisms in the first half of the *Inferno* which disappear almost entirely in the remainder of the poem, and which seem the work of a young, or at least immature writer. There is for instance a frequent and rather pointless repetition of words; not in an attempt to reproduce Dante's anaphora, but rather an extension of his occasional lapses. Thus we have: 'with a loud cry I cried' = 'gridai a lui' (Inf. I.65); 'Beasts of all kinds her mates, and she will mate / With others many' = 'Molti son li animali a cui s'ammoglia / e più saranno ancora' (Inf. I.100-1); 'Earth*and earth's riches he shall not desire' = 'Questi non ciberà terra nè peltro' (Inf. I.193); 'Although corruptible did breathe the breath' (Inf. II.14); 'Where greater Peter's great successor sits' (Inf. II.24); 'hastened with such haste' (Inf. II.109); 'My leader wise leads me another way' (Inf. IV.149); 'Sees in what place of Hell shall be its place' (Inf. V.10); 'What incorporeal still corporeal seemed' = 'sopra lor vanità che par persona' (Inf. VI.36). In Inf. IV.86-90 we have:

Take note of him who with that sword in hand
Before the other three comes as their lord.
Homer the Poet Sovereign is he! -
Next Homer comes, the satirist, and then
Ovid the third, and lastly Lucan comes.

If this were an isolated case it might be put down to slovenliness, but Johnston is not a careless writer. In earlier cantos he also introduces what one might call conceits, e.g.

For if I fearless should the venture dare,
I fear the venture may my folly prove. (Inf. II.34-5)

Whose coward blood renounc'd his lofty state (Inf. III.59)

Whose only punishment is hopeless hope (Inf. IX.18)
(che sol per pena ha la speranza cionca)

Similar expressions occur occasionally later in the poem, but there the translator is probably trying to replace an effect which he cannot readily reproduce by another, e.g.

My error left me and my terror came (Inf. XXXI.39)
(fuggiemi errore e cresciemi paura)

And in such instant as an arrow flies (Inf. XXII.137-8)
Between the slackened cord and stricken mark (Par. II.23-4)

Generally speaking the tone becomes more sober and the choice of words more restrained as the poem proceeds. Johnston strangely misses quite a few of Dante's own repetitions, e.g. the 'dura . . . durerà . . . ' of Inf. II.59-60:

Whose fame embraces the wide world's expanse,
And shall endure so long its movement lasts.

In other cases he tries to get his effect differently, e.g. (Inf. VII.114)

'The raw flesh tearing with their bloody teeth' = 'trocandosi co' denti a brano a brano'. He is as a rule conscious of Dante's verbal effects, e.g. in Purg. XXVIII.31-3 although he does not try to parallel the 'bruna bruna' of the original he knows what is wanted:

Although in utter darkness it flowed on
Under perpetual shade, for neither sun
Nor moon had here the power to shed a ray.

Word order does not escape him; he preserves the chiasmus in 'Born in Sienna, in Maremma slain' (Purg. V.154) or 'Which made the earth to quake and opened heaven' (Par. VII.48). Examples of more sustained poetic quality are given later.

Although he translated the poem *terzina* by *terzina* Johnston did not aim at the same kind of literal accuracy that Longfellow and Rossetti did; he very often replaces an unusual Italian expression by a more familiar

English idiom, with varying success. Inevitably there is weakening. We cannot accept 'Which evil universal all involves' (Inf. VII.18) as an equivalent for 'che 'l mal dell'universo tutto insacca'; while 'And let him feel the pain who owns the wound' is inadequate for 'e lascia pur grattar dov'è la rogna' (Par. XVII.129). But Johnston may have felt entitled to make such reconstructions as:

Nought it avail'd him, for give rein to fear
And wings then lose their pow'r (Inf. XXII.127-8)
(Ma poco i valse: ch'è l'ali al sospetto
non potero avanzar)

But does as nature doeth in the flame,
Which spite of thousand efforts riseth still (Par. IV.77-8)
(ma fa come natura face in foco,
se mille volte violenza il torza)

Occasionally there is mere oddity, as in the bad line 'With sin⁹lad'n cit'zens and a mighty host' (Inf. VIII.69); while the idea of the repentant sinners crying: 'Into the cow Pasiphaë went, / The bull enticing to the genial act' (Purg. XXVI.41-2) is hardly appropriate.

Much more commonly Johnston simply remodels Dante's sentences to adapt them to his style and metre, without doing violence to the sense or impairing the effect, but in such a way that his translation would be far less useful as a 'crib' than say Longfellow's. The passages in Appendix I are fair samples of Johnston's work and illustrate this, as well as some of the other points already made. Note, for instance, in Inf. XXVI the changes made in lines 121-32; examples of repetition occur in lines 119, 139; there is a good touch in the verb 'grew' (line 135). Par. III. 70-2 shows a typical grammatical reconstruction; XXXIII.19-21 is one of Johnston's few really bad rhetorical lapses.

As to unintentional inaccuracies, there are too many. After giving Johnston the benefit of those cases where an inferior reading or inter-

pretation then current might have misled him, one could pick out a long list of places where he has misunderstood the Italian. Some of these are trivial, and may be due to carelessness rather than to ignorance. Of the more serious errors the strangest is in Purg. X where lines 46-8 read:

'Let not one place alone thy thoughts absorb,'
My gentle master said, who by me stood
Close to the part where beat the hearts of men.

This misunderstanding of 'che m'avea / da quella parte onde il cuore ha la gente' might have passed almost unnoticed had not Johnston, evidently visualising the scene as mistaken by him, inserted in lines 100-1 a gratuitous indication of direction:

'Lo! from the right with steps sedate and slow,'
The poet murmured, 'many people come.'

This reverses the direction of the circulation and makes nonsense of XIII.10-21 and other succeeding passages. Doré, whose physical contradictions of the text reach the height of absurdity in Purgatorio, made the same mistake, but Johnston could not have been misled by him, for his translation appeared a year before the artist's illustrations of the second cantica.

'In effort vain he must repentance seek' (Inf. XI.42) is a distortion of 'convien che sanza pro si penta' that spoils the meaning; 'this one cometh not / Forc'd by thy sister's mastery' (Inf. XII.19-20) does violence both to mythology and the meaning of 'ammaestrato'; 'Our need of small account he made' (Inf. XXIII.140) must have resulted from an over-hasty glance at 'mal contava la bisogna'; the same applies to 'Who may he be whp bears this bitter look?' (Inf. XXVIII.93), where Johnston is not the only translator who has failed to see that 'veduta amara' refers back to lines 86-7. Johnston seems to have missed the point of the shadow in Purg. V.4-5: 'Lo, how the solar ray / From the left hand strikes him who

is below'. The rendering of Purg. XXVIII.68-9 is careless:

And in her hands entwined were lovelier flowers
Than this high region shows which needs no seed.

'And when the eyes sought from the beard to learn' (Purg. XXXI.73) is an odd version of 'e quando per la barba il viso chiese'. Johnston has taken the wrong meaning from Dante's words in Par XVII.118-20, attributing to him unmerited pusillanimity:

And if I seem a timid friend to truth,
'Tis from the fear of losing fame with those
Who shall call ancient this now passing time.

With the limitations indicated, Johnston's translation is quite a good one, superior in metre and language to Pollock's, more readable than Longfellow's for ordinary purposes. Admittedly he often disappoints, e.g.

My crimes were many and of fearful fame;
But goodness infinite so wide can reach,
All it embraceth who return to it. (Purg. III.118-23)

As the lark ranges the untroubled air,
Now full of song, now still, as if content
And cloyed with the last sweetness of its song . . . (Par. XX.73-5)

He has some oddities like 'Time with his shears is ever prowling round' (Par. XVI.9); but he has felicities and sublimities too, e.g.

Judgment divine bends not His head supreme
Because love's fervent fire at once fulfils
What the sojourner here is bound to pay. (Purg. VI.37-9)

And him I saw stooping beneath the death
Which weighed him down already to the earth;
But in his eyes lay wide the gates of heaven. (Purg. XV.109-11)

And it and all moved in their starry dance,
And then like very swiftly flying sparks
Were in an instant in the distance lost. (Par. VII.7-9)

In the Paradiso the long expository passages are clear and well-sustained; Johnston's worst failure of this kind is in Purg. IV where, as already mentioned, Virgil's astronomical dissertation is far from convincing; while Statius on will and purification in Purg. XXI is also a little woolly.

In conclusion, here are three short passages, picked to represent the best achievement of a translator who seems to have deserved more praise than the very limited circulation of his privately printed Dante brought him.

And then there came across the turbid wave
The rushing of a sound so full of dread
That the two shores with very trembling shook;
Like was it to a fierce and mighty wind,
Which, born impetuous of opposing heats,
The forest strikes with pow'r disdaining check;
It breaks the branches, tears them, flings them forth;
Onward it rushes, dust compelling, proud;
Wild beasts and shepherds flee before its rage. (Inf. IX.64-72)

It was the time near to the break of morn
When the sad wailings of the swallow wake,
Perhaps in memory of her early woes,
And at which time the mind, then most relieved
From the dull flesh and least by thought oppressed,
Is in its visions nearest the divine.
I in my sleep an eagle seemed to see,
High soaring, golden feathered, in the heavens,
With wings expanded and with earthward flight.
I seemed to be where force immortal tore
From his companions the young Ganymede,
And snatched him to the councils of the gods.
Within myself I thought, perchance this bird
Strikes only here, and haply nowhere else
Its talons deign to bear aloft the prey.
It still appeared some instants more to wheel,
Then terrible as lightning down it swooped,
And bore me up towards the place of fire;
There we both seemed to burn, the bird and I,
And the hot fire of fancy was so fierce
It forced on me the breaking of my sleep. (Purg. IX.13-33)

I saw a light which like a river flowed,
Flashing with waves of glory, both its banks
Rich with the wondrous livery of spring.
Forth from this river issued living sparks,
And these on every side dropped on the flowers,
Like unto rubies which are set in gold.
Then as if drunk with odours, these again
Plunged in the body of the glorious stream,
And as one entered, came another forth. (Par. XXX.61-9)

CHARLES TOMLINSON

A Vision of Hell: the Inferno of Dante, translated into English tierce rhyme; with an Introductory Essay on Dante and his Translators. By Charles Tomlinson, F.R.S. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 9 Paternoster Row. 1877. Crown octavo, pp. viii, 179. Dedication (to his niece, Mary Tomlinson), p. iii; Inf. IX.61-3 in Italian and English, p. iv; Contents, with argument for each canto, pp. v-viii; Dante and his Translators, pp. 1-37; English text, printed in terzine but not numbered, with footnotes, argument (repeated from contents) at head of each canto, pp. 39-179.

Charles Tomlinson (1808-97) was born in London. His father died early, and he made a humble start to a brilliant academic career by studying at the London Mechanics Institute. He had a scientific bent, and while he assisted his brother Lewis, who held a curacy near Salisbury, with his school, and later when he had founded a school of his own in that city, he studied and wrote on physics, contributing articles to the Saturday Magazine, publishing The Student's Manual of Natural Philosophy and editing a new edition of Daniells' Meteorology. His publisher, Parker, persuaded him to return to London, where he was appointed Lecturer in Experimental Science at King's College School. He did important original work on the theory of surface tension; became a member of the British Association in 1864, a Fellow of the Chemistry Society in 1867, and a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1872. In his later years, however, his interests turned to literature and poetry; his wife, Sarah Windsor, was also an author in a small way. From 1878 to 1880 he was Dante lecturer at University College, London, and besides contributing to the Encyclopedia Britannica he published various books on literary subjects, including a volume on The Sonnet: Its Origin, Structure and Place in Poetry which contains many of his own versions of Italian sonnets, especially those of Petrarch, and a discussion on the art of translating. It is interesting to note that this volume, which appeared in 1874, was

dedicated to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, to whom we shall have occasion to refer again in the article on Agnes Louisa Money. Other books were The Literary History of the Divine Comedy (1879), Dante, Beatrice and the Divine Comedy (1894). Like several other scholars he felt attracted to Goethe as well as to Dante; he made a translation of Herrmann und Dorothea in hexameters, and published a Critical Examination of Goethe's Sennets in 1890. Tomlinson was a man of great ability and energy, who brought the analytical powers of a capable scientific investigator to bear on the problems of literature and translation.

To his *Inferno* Tomlinson prefixed an essay, 'Dante and his Translators', containing nearly 15,000 words, and largely devoted to adverse criticism of all previous efforts to render the Divine Comedy in English. One after another they are weighed and found wanting, being dealt with both in general terms and also by means of detailed examples, some of which deal with points so fine as to make us feel that Tomlinson's standard is a very lofty one. Moreover he did this part of the work very thoroughly; he dealt with the work of every translator already mentioned in these essays, with the unimportant exceptions of Hume and O'Donnell; it is interesting to note that he picked out for criticism several lines already referred to in these essays. He also included several translators of shorter selections, like Merivale and Leigh Hunt. Some of his judgments are shrewd; but he seems strangely blind to the existence of readings and interpretations other than his own, and several times censures as inaccuracies renderings that are perfectly legitimate. None of the translations satisfy him: 'there is no version in our language that represents this great poem in the three essential properties of form, literalness, and spirit.' He gives some praise to Rossetti, Longfellow and Carlyle for the second of these properties, and to Cayley (whom he thinks

the best of the translators in terza rima) for the first and third, adding: 'The other numerous versions seem to me to be inexact paraphrases, but ill adapted to represent the poem in our language.' He goes on to opine that there is something lacking in the current system of education when he finds educated men, many of them trained at public schools and universities, and some of them in the enjoyment of dignified preferment, and yet producing no better results than those which I have cited in this Essay'. Finally he says that in his own translation 'an attempt is made to combine the three essential properties of literalness, form, and spirit, in which respect it differs from all other translations'.

The claim is large and indiscreet. Cayley had already been accused of bad taste because he criticised a few of his predecessors in his preface; but Tomlinson had gone far beyond that. He had attacked, and sometimes ridiculed, almost every translator of Dante into English who had ever set pen to paper, and then announced a practical demonstration of how the task should be done. In the circumstances, only a superlative performance could have saved him from condemnation; but actually his version is one of the most dismal failures in the record of Dante translation, remarkable for the absence rather than the presence of the 'three essential properties', ranking no higher than those of Thomas and Minchin, and inferior on the whole to those of Cayley and Dayman.

The Athenaeum, as may be imagined, was not slow to respond to Tomlinson's challenging statements. The reviewer (19th January 1878, pp. 83-4), remarking on the often demonstrated impossibility of English terza rima, said that Tomlinson's attempt was 'predestined to be a laborious failure, and there we would have ^{been} ~~been~~ content to leave it, but . . . '. The 'but' of course refers to the preface; and the writer goes on to give Tomlinson a thorough trouncing.

By quotations from the first canto alone he disposes of all the translator's pretensions, showing that he is even more vulnerable than the writers whom he has condemned, and in the very respects on which he had censured them.

The first canto is only too typical of the rest of Tomlinson's performance. One of the first things that strikes the reader is the licence taken with rhymes, especially by a sonneteer with very strict views on the subject. Not only do we find the more tolerable liberties, such as 'got' rhymed with 'doubt' or 'near' with 'there'; but we get sets of three dissimilar sounds occurring together, such as 'sit - wait - smite', 'thou - do - so'; and such irritating pairs as 'doth - worth', 'turned - wound', 'cried - said'. Tomlinson rhymes words in short '-y', like 'symmetry', with long '-y', as in 'reply', as well as with 'me', 'thee', etc. This eye-rhyme of long and short 'y' is unfortunately established by tradition, although it has no real foundation in pronunciation; but it would not be criticised here did not Tomlinson take the further quite unacceptable step of extending the licence to rhyme long 'y' with 'ee', so that we get such a trio as 'be - reply - see'. Nor is he at much pains to vary his rhymes; he uses for the most part the commoner sounds, and repeats the same set at very short intervals.

One might be prepared to overlook some degree of liberty in so difficult a metre as terza rima in English, if the result were to improve the verse in other respects. But in spite of Tomlinson's freedom in this matter, he is as much a slave to the exigencies of rhyme as any of his forerunners, and seldom writes more than a few lines without the intrusion of some awkward inversion, forced meaning or sheer padding. The passage from Inf. XXVI quoted in Appendix I will show this. We have the fatuity of 'Which never never had deserted me', the awkwardness of 'the isle of Sards I know' and the lines about Seville and Ceuta. The man who reproves others for the

slightest departure from Dante's actual words makes 'acciò che l'uom più oltre non si metta' into 'That no one further on adventure wait', and 'che a pena poscia li avrei ritenuti' into 'Scarce to hold back would they commands receive', to say nothing of adding a few adjectives (a practice which he emphatically denounces in the preface) like 'lonely world', 'that same light', but omitting others, like 'picciola' in line 122, which are really important.

Tomlinson had found fault with Pollock for translating 'quelle cose belle' (Inf. I.40) as 'those shining ones'. He himself managed to get his translation literal, but at the cost of an absurd piece of padding two lines earlier:

The time was the beginning of the day:

The sun was rising up, and on his wings

Were those same stars, the which with him did stay,

When Love Divine first moved those beauteous things . . .

Instances could be multiplied indefinitely throughout the poem of lack of fidelity combined with extreme awkwardness of expression; a few examples, which speak for themselves, are given below.

They blasphemed God, their parents they blasphemed,
The human race, the place, the time, the seed
From them upsprung; their birth they hateful deemed.

And then together they all backward speed

Weeping convulsively, to that cursed shore

Which waits for all, who God's fear never heed. (III.103-11)

If Jove his smith outweary, who supplied

Sharp thunderbolt, and took it, while rage did burn,

To smite me on the last day when I died;

Or if he weary out the rest in turn

In Mongibel by the black forge's side,

Exclaiming 'Help, good Vulcan, help me, turn!'

So as at Phlaegra's fight did him betide,

And shot his bolts with all his might at me, -

No glad revenge with him would thus abide. (XIV.52-60)

With such like fury, and with such a storm,

As dogs leap out upon the pauper, who

Asks sudden alms, ceasing awhile to roam . . . (XXI.67-9)

As he who falls and knoweth no control,
By Demon's might which drags him to the ground,
Or other seizure of constraining dole,
When he gets up, he gazes all around,
By the great anguish quite bewildered
That he has suffered; gazing, his sighs resound:
Such was the sinner when he raised his head.
Justice of God! severe in verity
Such vengeful blows with such downpouring speed! (XXIV.112-20)

And like to him who of some harm doth dream,
And dreaming wishes it a dream may bide,
And craves what is as 'twere not what doth seem,
So I incapable of speech abide;
I wished to make excuse and all the while
Excused myself, and thought not that I did. (XXX.136-41)

The degree of accuracy obtainable by such methods is not very high.

Tomlinson was a good Italian scholar, and presumably knew the meaning of what he was translating; but as often as not conveyed it so clumsily into English as to leave it obscure or ambiguous. For instance, in XI.63 he has:

By the other method all that love doth flee
Which Nature makes, by which increase we gain,
Whereby a special trust there comes to be.

It is very difficult to know what this means, even after comparing it with the Italian. Little more perspicuous is XXXI.109-11:

Then, more than ever, fear of death held me,
And there had been no need, except the fright,
But that the manacles I there did see.

Tomlinson has a lot to say in his preface about other translators weakening Dante's striking expressions. He dislikes Cary's opening to canto XXXII; his own version of lines 4-6 is:

I would express the juice of my conceit
With greater fulness; but I have them not,
Hence, not unfearing, I on talking get.

He points out Cary's inaccurate rendering of XVIII.42, 'già di veder costui non son digiuno'; his own is 'I've not kept fast till I to him could get'. He objects to Pollock's version of XIII.63, 'I gave sleep and all my life', stating that the literal meaning is 'I lost my pulse

and veins', evidently unaware that the reading 'li sonni e' polsi' is a well authenticated one; but all he can make of it in his own translation is 'That veins and pulses scarcely I discerned'. He cites various lines from Longfellow and Rossetti as discordant; among them is 'Expecteth it will there be more than here' (VI.111) from the first, and 'As was the saying of them where I was' (IV.105) from the second. Tomlinson's own versions of these passages exhibit most of the faults he censures:

Yet for this cursed people this the sting,
Though they to true perfection ne'er attain,
Yet to be greater there than here they cling.

Thus we went on up to the luminous land,
Speaking of things 'twere prudent not to proclaim,
As was their talk while with them I remained.

He is scornful of Wright's XV.85, 'How man may best immortalise his name', which he renders thus:

For in my mind is fixed and touches me
At heart, that good paternal image dear
Of you, whom hour by hour in the world I see,
Teaching me how man gets immortal here,

which is something worse than inept and makes us wonder where 'here' is.

He takes exception to Cayley's undue freedom with rhymes; surely a case of a very black pot miscalling the kettle. A child, he says, would not ask, like Gladstone's Anselmuccio (XXXIII.51), 'What ails thee, Father? such thy look is grown'; but would he be any more likely to talk like Tomlinson's own 'dear little Anselm' and ask: 'Father! how thou lookest, what hast thou?'

There are a few others we might quote, e.g. Francesca's 'questi, che mai da me non fia diviso' (V.135) which becomes 'This one, who ne'er from me is separable'; while Pope Nicolas (XIX.72) says: 'There purse with pelf, and here this hole I filled'.

There appear to be a few actual mistranslations. In X.19-21 we have:

And I, 'Good Leader! I would only hide
From thee my heart, that I the less might speak,
And to such wish thou only now dost guide,

which is either a slip or a misprint. 'That doubt and knowledge equal charms combine' (XI.93) is due to the use of a wrong verb in order to fit the rhyme; in a writer with less pretension to accuracy than Tomlinson it might pass muster, but it certainly does not express what is intended. In XIII.20-1 'and thou shalt see / Things that might prove faith in my speech, unsound' does not seem to fit either of the common readings, and the comma seems to have got into the wrong place. XV.10-12 is puzzling:

On such a model were these margins stayed,
Albeit not so high or broad they be,
Whoever made them, 'twas the Master made.

'The feet then intertwined, behind were brought' (XXV.115) is due to failure to see that 'di retro' applies to 'li piè'; as an adverb 'behind' is meaningless here. XXVIII.45 reads 'Adjudged for things of which they thee accuse', which does not convey the sense of 'ch'è giudicata in su le tue accuse'. Tomlinson renders XXV.144, 'se fior la pⁿna abborra' by 'if flowers my tongue disown'; he seems to be particularly proud of this interpretation, for he repeats it three times in his preface, and says that Pollock's 'if somewhat roves my pen' is not only weak but wrong. Tomlinson's reading, originally suggested by Gherardini, is, however, almost certainly wrong, and unsupported by any modern commentator.

It is regrettable that one should have to condemn so severely the work of an able man, and one who rendered good service to the study of Italian in Britain, but his preface, followed by his performance, leave us no alternative. To conclude on a pleasanter note, we may quote his version of Petrarch's sonnet, 'I' vo piangendo', which is much above the level of his Dante, and may be compared with Cayley's rendering, given in the appropriate article.

I still lament, with tears, the years gone by,
Wasted in loving but a mortal thing;
Though I could soar, not rising on the wing,
To lofty work, which might perchance not die.

O Thou! who knowest my impiety,
Invisible, immortal, heavenly King!
To my frail wand'ring soul some succour bring,
And its defects of Thy own grace supply.
Though tempest-toss'd and oft in strife I be,
At peace, in port, let me my life resign,
Though spent in vain, yet close in piety:
In that short span of life I yet call mine,
And in death's hour extend Thy hand to me;
Thou know'st I trust no other aid but Thine.

Second (revised) edition of *Purgatory* issued by same publishers and in same format, 1892.

The *Paradise* of Dante Alighieri (etc., as above). 1893. Crown octavo, pp. xv, 456. Preface, pp. v-xi; contents, pp. xii-xiii; preliminary note, p. xiv; additions and corrections, p. xv; text of *Paradise* (as above), pp. 1-426; glossary, pp. 427-56.

Second (revised) edition of *Paradise* issued by same publishers and in same format, 1891.

The *Hell* of Dante Alighieri (etc., as above). 1892. Crown octavo, pp. xvi, 426. Preface, pp. v-xiii; contents, pp. xiv-xv; preliminary note, p. xvi; text of *Inferno* (as above), pp. 1-420; glossary, pp. 421-56.

Note. In the revised editions of the two first volumes the prefaces are partly rewritten and corrections and amendments made in translation, but these are not extensive. The passages reproduced in the article, except as otherwise stated, and in Appendix I are from the second edition of *Purgatory* and *Paradise*.

Arthur John Butler (1844-1910) was born at Putney, the eldest son of a Church of England clergyman, who afterwards became Dean of Lincoln. Arthur was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; he had a brilliant academic career, being eighth classic and a Junior Optima in mathematics; he received a fellowship at Trinity in 1867, and he remained deeply interested in the affairs of the College throughout his life. After holding a post with the Board of Education as an examiner from 1870-82, he entered the publishing business, being first a salaried partner in Rivingtons and then chief editor of Cassells. In 1894 he returned to the Board of Edu-

ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER

The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri. Edited with translation and notes by Arthur John Butler, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan and Co. 1880. Crown octavo, pp. xviii, 458. Preface, pp. v-xiii; contents, pp. xiv-xv; preliminary note, p. xvi; errata, pp. xvii-xviii; text of Purgatorio, English in upper part of page, Italian in centre, and notes at foot, with argument at head of each canto, pp. 1-421; Appendix A, 'The Dreams of cantos IX, XIX and XXVII', pp. 422-6; Appendix B, 'On the Allegory of cantos XXIX-XXXIII', pp. 427-32; glossary, pp. 433-58.

Second (revised) edition of Purgatory issued by same publishers and in same format, 1892.

The Paradise of Dante Alighieri (etc., as above). 1885. Crown octavo, pp. xv, 436. Preface, pp. v-xi; contents, pp. xii-xiii; preliminary note, p. xiv; additions and corrections, p. xv; text of Paradiso (as above), pp. 1-428; glossary, pp. 427-36.

Second (revised) edition of Paradise issued by same publishers and in same format, 1891.

The Hell of Dante Alighieri (etc., as above). 1892. Crown octavo, pp. xvi, 435. Preface, pp. v-xiii; contents, pp. xiv-xv; preliminary note, p. xvi; text of Inferno (as above), pp. 1-420; glossary, pp. 421-35.

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Arthur John Butler (1844-1910) was born at Putney, the eldest son of a Church of England clergyman, who afterwards became Dean of Lincoln. Arthur was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; he had a brilliant academic career, being eighth classic and a Junior Optime in mathematics; he received a fellowship at Trinity in 1867, and he remained deeply interested in the affairs of the College throughout his life. After holding a post with the Board of Education as an examiner from 1870-87, he entered the publishing business, being first a salaried partner in Rivingtons and then chief editor of Cassells. In 1894 he returned to the Board of Edu-

cation as Assistant Commissioner on Secondary Education; then from 1899 till his death he held an appointment in the Public Records Office, where he was engaged in editing state papers. Besides being a classical scholar he was an accomplished linguist, acquainted with most of the modern European languages. He published a number of translations from various languages, and was a regular contributor and reviewer in literary periodicals. He was also an experienced mountaineer, and was frequently the companion of Leslie Stephen in the Alps; he edited the Alpine Journal from 1890 to 1893. Butler's natural modesty, courtesy and kindness are attested by many of his fellow-scholars.

The study of Dante was the chief of Butler's leisure occupations, and besides his translation of the Comedy he published a useful introduction, Dante: his times and his work (1895), as well as an English version of Scartazzini's Dante-Handbuch (A Companion to Dante) in the same year. His classical knowledge stood him in good stead, for he was thoroughly familiar with Aristotle; and he also devoted much attention to medieval studies, and to the writings of the Fathers and Schoolmen. He was, moreover, a pioneer of textual criticism, himself examining various manuscripts of the Comedy and comparing readings; although his work in this direction was overshadowed by the prodigious achievement of Edward Moore, whose Textual Criticism (1889) unfortunately appeared rather late to benefit Butler, although the latter received some help from his fellow-scholar, acknowledged in the preface to Paradiso in 1885.

When Butler published his first volume, his only predecessor as a prose-translator of Dante, apart from the completely negligible O'Donnell, was John Aitken Carlyle, who had never proceeded beyond the Inferno, published thirty years earlier; and who, Butler tells us in his preface, informed him

that he had no intention of resuming the work. Butler considered Carlyle's version to be admirable, and his immediate purpose in tackling the Purgatorio was to provide a continuation of it; he felt, too, that the second cantica should be more widely known than it was, being neglected in comparison with the first, so he took a course which he considered 'obviously natural'. So far as actual translation is concerned he enunciates his principles briefly and clearly:

... Verse translations of course we have, many and good; but no verse-translation can be a wholly satisfactory 'crib'; and it is at the production of a 'crib', pure and simple, that I have aimed. . . . I may perhaps remark here, that where a question has arisen between a literal and an elegant rendering, I have preferred the former; my object being, as I have said, not to attempt an addition to English literature, but to aid beginners in understanding that of Italy. Also, wherever it seemed possible to render an Italian word or idiom by a cognate form in English, I have not scrupled to do so, even at the cost of an occasional archaism.

Equally important, in Butler's view, was to establish and elucidate the text. He had familiarised himself with the work of commentators old and new, as well as with the source-literature; he was keenly interested in textual and linguistic matters; he was fascinated alike by Blanc's Vocabulario, Diez's Wörterbuch and Moore's projected critical text. Not only, therefore, did he supplement his translation with a far fuller and more exact body of notes than had ever appeared before in English, but he collated his text (Bianchi's edition of 1863) with the four early Italian editions reprinted by Vernon, the Naples edition of 1477 (as recorded by Barlow), the Aldine, Cassino and Witte's, and the Cambridge manuscript which Moore names Q, placing the variants between the Italian text and the footnotes on each page.

Most unfortunately Butler did not insert in his preliminary matter any systematic explanation of this collation, thereby considerably detracting

from its value. In one part of the preface to the 1880 volume he mentions the text used, and the fact that he prefers it to Witte's, also the Cassino edition based on the Codex Cassinensis, and the Cambridge manuscript which he describes briefly. Further on, in the last paragraph, he explains that ~~he made~~ he uses the numerals 1 to 5 to denote Foligno, Jesi, Mantua, del Tuppe and Naples (1477), and the press mark Gg for the Cambridge MS. Worse still, in revising the preface for the second edition in 1892, this final paragraph was (no doubt inadvertently) omitted altogether. In the preface to both editions of Paradise he mentions that in editing the text he has had constantly before him the Cassino, the manuscript Gg, Vernon's reprint of the first four editions, the two Aldines, and Witte's; but apart from that he gives no explanation of the abbreviations, nor does he mention the use of the numerals 1 to 5. In the Inferno of 1892 he reprints the original paragraph from the end of the 1880 preface. Had he only devoted a page to a list of abbreviations he would have saved much puzzlement to readers unfamiliar with the authorities in question. *Just said' (Inf. I.133). Some*

curl Even when one has disclaimed all thought of providing anything more than a 'crib', a literal prose translation is by no means so simple an undertaking as it sounds. The modes of expression, the everyday idioms, and the established grammatical framework are different in the two languages. At almost every line the problem arises as to whether the Italian construction is to be reproduced in English, or some other native turn of phrase substituted. We have already noticed how Carlyle encountered this difficulty and was unable to achieve consistency in surmounting it, with the result that he was censured for mutually contradictory faults. Butler, likewise, wavered from time to time between the two courses, remaining for the most part true to his precept of choosing the more literal alternative. Carlyle

had said in his preface that 'no single particle has been wittingly left unrepresented . . . for which any equivalent could be discovered', but in his practice he was scarcely so meticulous. Butler, however, again and again insists on giving us every particle. Thus 'poi che', 'poscia che', etc., are consistently rendered 'after that', e.g. 'After that I had recognised some there' (Inf. III.58), sometimes with still odder results like Inf. I.28-30:

After that my weary body being a little rested I took again my way
over the desert slope, so that the halted foot was ever the lower,
behold . . . ,

which has to be read more than once before the construction can be grasped. Similarly 'mentre che' is 'while that' and 'prima che' is 'before that', and we have many circumlocutions like 'We left not our going, for that he talked' (Inf. IV.64); 'Of the Seraphim not that one who has most part in God, Moses, Samuel, nor that John, whichever thou wilt take, I say, not Mary . . . ' (Par. IV.28-30); 'He who laments for that here one dies' (Par. XIV.25). 'Là dove' is often (but not always) 'there where', e.g. 'that thou lead me there where thou hast just said' (Inf. I.133). Some curious prepositions are found, evidently in an effort to keep close to the Italian usage, e.g. 'sore stung of gadflies and of wasps' (Inf. III.65); 'light of heaven will not bestow of itself' (Purg. XIII.69); 'the child that yields at the apple' (Purg. XXVII.45); 'and to his body he would no other bier' (Par. XI.117). Stairs in particular give him trouble: 'to go down and up over another's stairs' (Par. XVII.60); 'through the stairs of the eternal palace' (Par. XXI.7); 'up over that ladder' (Par. XXII.101). We get such archaisms as 'the which' instead of the simple relative; and such pseudo-archaisms as 'who may He soon lead them on high' (Purg. XXI.72); 'Nor only to me is thy answer a need' (Purg. XXVI.19); 'dear my origin' (Par. XVI.22); 'before I could do it to ask' (Par. I.87). Unnecessary

reflexives are preserved as in Inf. XII.139, 'and passed him back over the ford'.

One of the most prolific sources of awkwardness is the article. We find definite articles repeatedly translated where they are quite wrong in English usage: 'that appraiser of the sins' (Inf. V.9); 'there are the cries, the complaining and the lamentation' (Inf. V.35); 'you taught me how the man becomes eternal' (Inf. XV.124-5); 'of his eyes he made ever gates to the heaven' (Purg. XV.111); 'Knewest thou not that here the man is happy' (Parg. XXX.75). At other times the article is surprisingly omitted or changed: 'her eyes beamed more than star' (Inf. II.55); 'that vibration which a tongue had given' ('che dato avea la lingua', Inf. XXVII.17-8); 'nectar is this of which each speaks' (Purg. XXVIII.144); 'a virtue of charity sets at rest our will' (Par. III.70-1); 'following a priesthood' (Par. XI.5); 'time and the dowry' ('il tempo e la dotà', Par. XV.104).

The combination of these features with a word order which follows the original as nearly as possible gives at times very clumsy results. An outstanding instance is the simple line 'e detto l'ho, perchè doler ti debbia' (Inf. XXIV.151) which becomes 'And I have told it thee to the end that thou mayest need to grieve therefore'. One or two short passages which have suffered in the same way and are representative are given below.

And as is he who willingly acquires, and the time comes which makes him lose, that in all his thoughts he laments and is made sad; such did the implacable beast make me, which coming against me, by little and little pushed me back to the place where the Sun is dumb.
(Inf. I.55-60)

Love, who excuses no loved one from loving, seized me for his joy in me so mightily that, as thou seest, it leaves me not yet.
(Inf. V.103-5)

For all the gold that is beneath the moon and that ever was, of these wearied souls could never make one of them rest.
(Inf. VII.64-6)

And as is he who dreams his own hurt, that in his dream he longs to be dreaming, so yearns he for that which is as though it were not; such became I, not having power to speak, that I longed to excuse myself, and was excusing myself all the time, and deemed not I did it. (Inf. XXX.136-41)

Not otherwise is stupefied and confused, and gazing grows dumb the mountaineer, when rough and savage he enters a city, than each shade did in its appearance; but after they were discharged of their astonishment, the which in lofty hearts is soon at rest . . .

(Purg. XXVI.67-72)

He was not yet very far from his rising when he began to make the earth feel some strengthening from his great virtue, since for such lady's sake a youth he ran upon his father's enmity, that to her, as to death, none unlocks the gate of pleasure.

(Par. XI.55-60)

The beauty which I beheld is beyond measure; not beyond us only, but I think of a truth that its Maker alone enjoys it in its fulness. By this passage I own myself conquered, more than ever comedian or tragedian was overcome by a point of his subject. For as does the sun to the sight that trembles most, so the remembrance of the sweet smile cuts my mind from itself. From the first day that I saw her countenance in this life, until this view, my song has not had its pursuit cut short; but now my pursuit must needs leave off from further following her beauty in verse, as in regard to his end must every craftsman.

(Par. XXX.19-33)

It will be noticed that the last passage deteriorates as it proceeds in proportion as the rendering becomes more literal.

On the other hand there are many passages where, with an occasional lapse, Butler is free from these mannerisms and expresses Dante's meaning firmly and clearly, e.g.

And as is he who falls, and does not know how, by force of a demon which drags him to earth, or of other obstruction which binds the man, when he rises and looks around him, all bewildered with the great anguish which he has undergone, and as he gazes, sighs . . .

(Inf. XXIV.112-7)

To suffer torments both of heat and cold that Power ordains such bodies, which will not that the manner of its working be revealed to us. Mad is he who hopes that our reason can travel over the boundless way, which one Substance in three Persons holds. Remain content, race of mankind, at the quia, for if you could have seen all no need was there that Mary should bring forth; and ye have seen desiring without fruition men such that their desire would have been set at rest, which is given them eternally for a grief.

(Purg. III.31-42)

Then, like a clock, which calls us at the hour when the bride of God arises to sing matins to her spouse, that he may love her, where the one part draws and drives the other, sounding 'ting ting' with so sweet a note, that the spirit well-disposed swells with love, so saw I the glorious wheel move itself, and return voice to voice in harmony and in sweetness that cannot be known save in that place where joy is everlasting. (Par. X.139-48)

The choice of words at times is open to criticism. 'My master and my authority' sounds flat for 'lo mio maestro e il mio autore' (Inf. I.85); 'the outset to the way of salvation' strikes one as odd for 'principio alla via di salvazione' (Inf. II.30). The verb 'offendo' worried Butler quite a lot; there is a long note against Purg. XXXI.12 on this subject. In Inf. V.109 'quelle anime offense' is translated 'those storm-tossed souls'; 'con sembiante offeso' (Inf. VII.111) is 'with mien of one tripped up'; 'e saprai se m'ha offeso' (Inf. XXXIII.21) becomes, rather cumbrously, 'and shalt know if he was my stumbling-block'. In spite of a footnote 'the great example' for 'il grande scempio' in Inf. X.85 sounds unconvincing. Butler is always interesting when mountaineering is involved, and his note makes out a good case for 'camminata' being 'chimney' in Inf. XXXIV.97; 'every Alpine climber,' he remarks, 'knows what a "Kamin" is.' 'Neither rathe nor ripe' for 'acerbe nè mature' in Purg. XXVI.55 suggests that for once Butler yielded to the temptation of making a neat phrase. 'The Sun is going his way' (Purg. XXVII.61) is a trifle fatuous; and 'every one from his own cavern' (Purg. XXX.14) likewise, for 'sua' here can only mean 'his' pure and simple, and we would hardly expect to find souls emerging from someone else's tomb. 'The space between them four contained a car upon two wheels' (Purg. XXIX.106-7) makes us wonder if the translator has gone Cockney for the moment. Curiously in Par. III.15 Butler gives the reading 'men tosto' in the text, but translates the 'men forte', 'with less force' of the variant noted below. In line 63 of the same canto 'so that to recall thy figure is

easier to me' may not have sounded so funny sixty years ago as it does now, but in any case 'features' would have been more accurate. 'Whence it came in lightning to Juba' (= 'Da onde venne folgorando a Giuba', Par. VI.70) is a weak rendering of a strong line. In departing from his usual verbal equivalence, and rendering Par. VII.9, 'mi si velar di subita distanza' as 'veiled themselves from me by sudden retreat' Butler has spoiled the effect; it might be argued that 'distance' cannot be 'sudden', but it is just this use of words that gives Dante's style one of its chief distinctions. 'In safety with Amyclas' for 'sicura / con Amiclata' (Par. XI.67-8) misses the point, which is that the fisherman was undisturbed by the world-terrifying voice; Butler was probably influenced by the opening, 'Securus belli', of the quotation from Lucan given in the footnote. On the contrary 'weatherwise' for 'presaga' in Par. XII.16 is a happy inspiration; one wishes that Butler had allowed himself such freedom oftener. 'The eternal nymphs who illustrate the heaven' is a bit prosaic for 'che dipingono il ciel' (Par. XXIII.27). Similarly 'since the fire of the Spirit made you fertile thereto' is a very weak rendering of a line to which several translators have done deserved justice, 'poichè l'ardente spirto vi fece almi' (Par. XXIV.138).

Although in general Butler's translation is very accurate, and he was obviously at great pains to ascertain the exact meaning of words and phrases, it contains quite a few mistranslations, some of them rather surprising. Of these a number were corrected in revision, e.g. in Purg. XII.68 the original 'he who sees the truth sees not better than I' was changed in the second edition to 'he who saw the reality saw not better than I'. In the preface to the Purgatorio of 1892 Butler acknowledges the help of Paget Toynbee in calling his attention to some mistakes. That eminent Dantist had, however, by no means exhausted the errors, for in one of his last contributions to the

Modern Language Review (Vol. 24, 1929, pp. 55 ff) he gave a list of mistranslations of Dante from various sources, in which Butler figures as the chief culprit, being introduced by the remark that while he claimed no more for his version than that it was 'a crib pure and simple', 'As a "crib", however, it is at times decidedly misleading'. The first mistake noted is that Butler almost invariably translates 'terra' by 'land' where it obviously means 'city', even rendering the last line of Inf. VIII, 'tal che per lui ne fia la terra aperta', by 'such that by him will the earth be opened to us'. But Butler was not, as Toynbee rather unnecessarily adds, 'in blissful ignorance' that 'terra' can have this sense, as is evidenced by his footnote to Inf. XXXI.21, though it is strange that even there he has 'land' in his text, thus losing the point of Dante's having mistaken the giants for the towers of a fortified town. Another common slip of Butler's, not mentioned by Toynbee, is to translate 'assai' as 'enough' or 'sufficient' when it should be 'much' or 'very'.

Apart from the dozen errors enumerated by Toynbee there are some other wrong or doubtful interpretations. Inf. X.100 is rendered 'We see, like him who has a bad light', but this does not suit the context at all; 'mala luce' here is 'bad sight', i.e. presbyopia or longsightedness. Butler is often careless about tenses: he renders Ugolino's 'Ahi dura terra, perchè non t'apristi?' (Inf. XXXIII.66) by 'ah! hard earth, why openest thou not thyself?' which does not make sense. It is difficult to see how 'e tristo imparà' (Purg. VI.3) can mean 'and learns by his grief'; it is by the process of sadly repeating the throws that he learns. There is a note to Purg. X.110-11 to the effect that if 'al peggio' is read we must understand 'at the worst, it cannot last beyond the judgment', but this is the normal interpretation, even reading 'a peggio' as many editors do; and Butler's rendering,

'consider that beyond the great sentence it cannot turn to worse' does not seem to have any support. Admittedly there is an eschatological problem here - how are we to provide an interval of a few centuries for the purification of those who do not arrive at the mountain till the last moment? Butler may have been thinking of Inf. VI.106-11, and that the pains of purgatory are in contrast to those of hell which will increase, but this seems a rather forced sense. Dante's eschatology leaves a lot of unanswered questions. In Purg. XII.17 'mounds of earth' is not an appropriate translation of 'tombe terragne'; the effigies could only be on stone slabs. The rendering of Par. XIII.133-5, 'I have seen all winter long the plum-tree . . . ', is strange without any note to support it. Butler renders 'pruno' by 'sloe' in Inf. XIII.32, by 'thorn-bush' in Inf. XIII.108, and by 'bramble' in Par. XXIV.111. He spoils the simile of Par. XXXI.103-8 (in company with some other translators) by rendering 'fin che si mostra' as 'until it is shown', which is meaningless in the context. Butler spent a great deal of labour in considering and ascertaining the precise meaning of many difficult words and passages, often very successfully, and it is a pity that so many obvious slips were allowed to pass.

In spite of these shortcomings, Butler's translation, as an aid to the serious student of Dante, was far ahead of anything that had hitherto been published in English. His rendering is admittedly completely lacking in style, a deficiency of which he himself had already warned his readers. He had not the literary ability of Carlyle, which enabled the latter to keep fairly close to the letter and at the same time give a distinctive and pervading flavour to his *Inferno*. This very fact, however, made Butler's version all the more useful for later scholars and translators to build on, although it is 'cibo rigido' for the reader who merely wishes to skim the

surface of the Comedy. Butler makes no attempt to cope with the Divine Comedy as a poem, and he lays little emphasis on its poetic qualities in his explanatory matter. In this sense he might justly be accused of having left out the most essential part, but he chose to do so deliberately, and the choice is a legitimate one.

His notes are valuable, relevant and authoritative. Sometimes perhaps he makes rather heavy going of them, e.g. the note to Inf. XXVI.40, 'Note the two relatives to the one antecedent, qual in l. 34 and che in l. 41', seems to create a difficulty which does not exist. He was also criticised by several reviewers for giving so many classical quotations, especially long passages of Greek, in the original, without adding a translation; however flattering it may be to the reader's intelligence, to come on a solid page of Aristotle, as we do at the end of Purg. XXV, is somewhat disconcerting.

The reception of Butler's translation by the critical reviews was a varied one. Edward Moore does not seem to have dealt with the original Purgatorio, but he wrote long articles in the Academy on Paradiso (23rd June 1886, pp. 52-3) and on Inferno (4th June 1892, pp. 535-6). He finds the translation 'close, literal and accurate' and the language 'plain, vigorous and unaffected', but he does not think it on the whole as good as Carlyle's. He praises the notes and critical apparatus, and commends the author for his familiarity with Aristotle and Aquinas. He is critical of Butler's choice in several cases where variant readings are found.

The first two volumes were well received by the Athenaeum. Of the Purgatorio the reviewer says (8th May 1880, pp. 594-5):

... if we were to say that it is, within its limits, the most scholarly specimen of Dantesque literature extant in the English language, we should hardly be praising it beyond its deserts.

Later (9th January 1886, pp. 62-3) the Paradiso is found to be

scholarly, perspicuous and satisfying, and in the main satisfactory. It is not, however, sufficiently high-strung, lacking in too many instances two qualities which are of the very essence of Dante, laconism and intensity.

The review of the *Inferno* (16th April 1892, pp. 494-5) is less enthusiastic:

We do not think Butler's own translation is quite so good as either Carlyle's or Norton's; it does not as a whole read so well and it shows a certain inclination for taking the less natural and straightforward view of a phrase, when one or other course is at the translator's option.

The Saturday Review, while praising text, essays and notes, took a very poor view of the translation of *Purgatorio* (5th June 1880, pp. 732-3):

Butler's work is a mere tessellation of words - a clumsy mosaic. It is as if he had first broken up the Italian of Dante into little bits, then had taken each word separately, ascertained the corresponding one in English, and lastly put together the English words without coalescence, and with no effort to conceal the places where they cannot be made to fit into an English whole.

It was, in fact, 'an ill-cemented conglomerate'. By the time the *Paradiso* appeared the Saturday's attitude had changed (6th February 1886, pp. 196-7); this translation was found 'much superior to his *Purgatorio* and may be read with pleasure'. A still kinder verdict was passed on the *Inferno*, reviewed along with Norton's *Purgatorio* (19th March 1892, pp. 336-7). Butler's style is described as being midway between Carlyle and Norton,

not so vigorous, or so instinct with individual and independent life, as the first; it is very superior in both respects to the second . . . the purity and pregnancy of the original are retained.

The difference must be ascribed to a change of reviewer, or at least a change in his ideas, because there is little perceptible change in Butler's style. He still renders 'là dove' by 'there where' and 'mentre che' by 'while that'; and a set of notes kept during a careful reading of all three parts indicates that the proportion of awkward or clumsy phrases and sentences is much the same throughout. Some further remarks on Butler's translation will be found in the article on Charles Eliot Norton.

The Warren Country of Northern Canada (1892) and Through the Sub-Arctic

WARBURTON PIKE

Translations from Dante, Petrarch, Michael Angelo and Vittoria Colonna. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1 Paternoster Square. 1879. Post octavo, pp. xvii, 372. Preface, pp. v-viii; Contents, pp. ix-xv; introductory poem, p. xvii; English text, pp. 1-359; notes, pp. 363-72.

The passages from the Divine Comedy contained in this volume are:

Inf. I; III.1-51; IV.22-120; V; IX.106-33; X; XVIII.1-18; XIX;

XXII.13-151; XXVI.13-142; XXXII.124-39; XXXIII.1-78, 91-150.

Purg. II.67-133; VI.58-151; VIII.1-6; XI.1-24, 94-9; XXX.21-145;

XXXI.1-66;

Par. XV.85-148; XVII; XXXIII (the last mentioned canto, however, is not by Pike, but by a lady whom he mentions in his preface).

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Inferno. Translated by Warburton Pike. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1 Paternoster Square. 1881. Post octavo, pp. xvi, 214. Preface, pp. v-ix; Contents (with short arguments), pp. xi-xv; English version of Michelangelo's sonnet 'Dal ciel discese', p. xvi; English text, printed in terzine (no arguments or footnotes), pp. 1-203; notes, pp. 205-14; errata slip (5 entries) tipped in at end.

Warburton Pike (1818-1882) belonged to a well-known Dorset family, many of whose members bore the name Warburton; their interests in the clay deposits of Purbeck are perpetuated in the name of the still existing firm, Fayle and Pike. Branches of the family are found at Wareham, Parkstone and adjacent places throughout last century. The Warburton with whom we are concerned was born at Bucknowle, Church Knowle, Dorset, and was the youngest son of William Pike. He was educated at University College, London; admitted as a student to the Middle Temple in 1837; and certificated as a Special Pleader in 1840. The preface to the 1881 volume is dated from Parkstone (Dorset), where he had probably retired after giving up practice. He had a son, Leonard Gaskell Pike, who also followed the law, besides having interests in the family clay-mining business. The British Museum catalogue erroneously attributes to him two other books, The Barren Ground of Northern Canada (1892) and Through the Sub-Arctic

Forest (1896); the author of these, although his middle name does not appear on the title pages, was Warburton Mayer Pike (1861-1915), son of John William Pike of Wareham.

Pike's prefaces are slightly casual. He doubts whether terza rima is the best metre for translating the Divine Comedy, and in the 1881 volume he says:

Terza rima was adopted without consideration, and persevered in partly because it had been begun; but it is open to question whether the Divina Commedia is not best translated in blank verse. I have no right to complain of the difficulties . . . but still I may point out that those difficulties are a bar to literality, which however does not seem to me desirable, and also to some extent not altogether dependent on the ability of the translator, to the choice of the most simple, appropriate, and vivid expression.

No further clue is given as to the meaning of the last somewhat cryptic phrase. In the preface to the 1879 volume he mentions that 'the last canto of Paradiso is by a lady who also helped me in the revision of the Divina Commedia, and by many valuable suggestions'; and in 1881, acknowledging the authorship of the previous anonymous volume, he says that 'one of the cantos is translated by the same lady who translated the last canto of the Paradiso'. He does not, however, mention which, and there is not sufficient internal evidence to identify her work. The first 21 lines of her version of Par. XXXIII are given in the Appendix. The selections from the Inferno of 1879 are reprinted without alteration in 1881, except that in one or two places a slight change has been made in order to link up the rhyme. The work seems to have been done fairly quickly, possibly during an illness, for the 1881 preface begins:

I was during the last year precluded to a great extent from my ordinary pursuits, and I translated parts of the Divina Commedia. The Inferno being completed, I wished to have it in print for my own use, and the print is now published. I hope that it may not be thought presumptuous to publish a new translation after so many others, the merits of which I fully recognise.

The work was done principally without access to my books. Generally I used Scartazzini's edition, and followed Witte's text (ed. 1863). I availed myself of the excellent translations by Longfellow and Pollock to check my own, and I am indebted to them for a few expressions. Lines identical with previous translations were arrived at independently. The rhymed translations were not used. I had Witte's translation, and found it of great service, but I did not procure the translation by Philalethes until the Inferno was complete.

From references in the preface and the brief notes, it is evident that Pike was a man of wide reading and culture, and that he had studied Dante and the Italian poets at some length. He shows his familiarity with various editions, commentaries and translations, mentioning even so recent a version as Tomlinson's which appeared in 1877. In the notes he gives several alternative lines or terzine to replace those in the text if alternative reading or interpretations are preferred. His work is the fruit of leisure, perhaps enforced, indulged in for his own enjoyment rather than to compete with others; and as we can see was not governed by any special principles or theory of translation.

The version itself bears out these conclusions. It is on the whole a pedestrian piece of work, neither better nor worse than half a dozen others belonging to the same period. There are signs of haste and lack of revision; the gulf between Pike at his best and at his worst is considerable. Loose and inferior rhymes are frequent, e.g. 'union - one - gone', 'those - numerous - loose', 'hence - arguments - cleanse'. There are some terribly lame lines, like 'So I became on listening to this utterance' (XVII.88, rhymed with 'glance'); 'None with the Soldan taking Acre had been' (XXVII.89).

Cacophony is regrettably common, often due to the piling up of monosyllabic words, e.g.

As one who hears some great trick told just played (VIII.22)

Being through earthquakes or props failed thrown o'er (XII.6)

To have due care for their bark's safety's sake (XXII.21)

I being mule loved brute's life, not man's, well (XXIV.124)

If thou weep'st not, for what dost weeping keep? (XXXIII.42)

The tyranny of rhyme is ever present, involving clumsiness, insertion of padding, and sometimes absurdity. The conversation with Francesca (V.88 ff), for instance, begins rather well:

Kindly and gracious being, who art led,
Journeying through the swarthy air below,
To us, who stained the world erewhile with red,
If but the King of all were not our foe,
We would implore Him to give peace to thee,
Since thou hast pity of our ill-starred woe.

It deteriorates rapidly however; line 100 is rendered 'Love seized this man, by gentle hearts soon ta'en'; while lines 115-7 are as extraordinary as anything ever perpetrated in the name of translation:

Then, turning to the pair, I said, 'My ears,
Francesca, and seeing thine agonies,
Have made me sad and tender, even to tears.'

Many terzine are somewhat painfully tortured into shape, e.g. (XI.82-4):

Immoderateness, the heart to wrong inclined,
Brute-like passions, and how incontinence
Earns less reproach and less offends God's mind.

The clumsiness of the following (XXX.136-42) is unfortunately typical:

As one who dreams he is unfortunate,
And while he dreams, he would it were a dream,
Craving what is, as though 'twere not his state;
Like him did I, who stood there speechless, seem;
Longing to excuse myself, I made excuse
Meanwhile, and that I did it did not deem.

The translation of I.105, 'And make his people on both Feltros bound', makes the reader bound with surprise at first perusal. 'And came to where the road goes down a hill' (VI.114) and 'His son is still 'midst live men resident' (X.111) tend to provoke a smile. 'And he keeps making on the rest a raid' (= 'e va rabbioso altrui così conciendo', XXX.33) is another desperate effort to rhyme, as is the beginning of XXXIX:

'Since now "Vexilla regis prodeunt
Inferni" us-ward try", my Guide said so,
'If thou seest him by looking on in front.'

Pike makes use here and there of colloquialisms and slang which are often vigorous and effective. I.61 is rendered 'While I was jostled to a lower place'; 'There coin, and here myself, I pocketed' (XIX.72) is quite adequate. Ciampolo says of Friar Gomita (XXII.85-90):

For he took gold and let them loose 'soft hand',
(To quote him), and in all capacities
Was no small cheat, but chief of all the band;
Whom Michael Zanche most accompanies,
Of Logodoro, they cease not to spin
Sardinian yarns with untired memories.

The rogue is himself described in line 109 as having 'tricks ready and to spare'. The significance of 'Istra ten va' in XXVII.21 is enforced by rendering 'You may go now, I speer no more'. Perhaps the best touch of all is the description of Bocca in XXXII.86 as 'still cursing hard and in full flow'. It is disappointing to find Pike making so inept a rendering of XXIII.67 as 'A mantle of fatigue to aye oppress'. Incidentally a few lines earlier (58) he has 'We found below there folk disguised with paint', curiously echoed in Edward Clark Lowe's translation.

Otherwise there is not much of note in Pike's version. One or two of the best terzine are given below.

Here saw I folk more numerous than elsewhere
On either hand, that rolled with struggling chest,
Each a great weight, and filled with howls the air,
Who, having struck each other, without rest
Wheeled and rolled back those weights, and mutually
Called out, 'Why hoardest?' and 'Why squanderest?' (VII.25-30)

But tell me, those of yonder sticky moat,
Those driven by wind, those beaten by the rain,
Those of the mutual shock and harsh-voiced throat . . . (XI.70-2)

So down the over-fall we quickly strode,
Making our way o'er stones, which oft my weight
Set rolling through my body's novel load. (XII.28-30)

To truth that bears the semblance of a lie,
A man should close his lips where'er he may,
For without fault some shame may come thereby. (XVI.124-6)

Pike's standard of accuracy is generally satisfactory; he was evidently well acquainted both with the Italian language and with current Dante scholarship. There are a number of slips; the Athenaeum stigmatised XXIII.114, 'And Catalan, who saw what he had done' (= 'e 'l frate Catalan, ch'a ciò s'accorse'), as nonsense, but this seems to be a case of grasping for a rhyme rather than of misunderstanding the text. The same review is also right in saying that all four of Pike's versions of X.82, 'But (so may you in your sweet home remain!)' in the text, and three alternatives in the notes, are wrong; he seems to have failed, as some earlier commentators did, to equate 'regge' with 'redeas'.

The Athenaeum reviewer (6th August 1881, p.168), with Tomlinson still fresh in mind, appreciated the modesty of Pike's preface, and was gentler with him than he might otherwise have been. Remarking (and with justification) that the new version was better than Tomlinson's, he was obliged to add that Pike had 'undertaken a work beyond his powers' and 'has not the gift of melodious verse'. E. D. A. Morshead, himself a Dante translator, dealt with the book in the Academy (13th August 1881, p.114). He found Pike, as we have already noticed, 'almost always overweighted with successive long syllables' but 'at times firm and rhythmic'. He also thought that 'Mr Pike shows a certain faculty of appreciating the grimness of Dante and his abrupt, vivid portraiture', and summed him up as 'faulty but passable'.

Pike mentions his indebtedness to Tomlinson's translation of the *Inferno* in his notes; and he also seems to be in debt to him for some of his other translations. Pike's version, for instance, of Petrarch's 'I' vo piangendo'

is quite good, better than his Dante, but bears a suspicious resemblance to Tomlinson's, with whose 1874 volume Pike must have been familiar; indeed he may well have been acquainted with Tomlinson personally, since they were both resident in London and shared the same interests. The sonnet is given below and can be compared with its predecessor, which will be found in the appropriate article.

I now am weeping, for the years passed by,
Wasted in loving but a mortal thing,
Though I could fly, not rising on the wing,
To leave some work, perhaps not far from high.
My deeds unworthy, impious, from the sky,
Thou seest, invisible, immortal King;
Succour the spirit frail and wandering,
And with thy grace, my soul's defect supply;
So that if tempest-tost, and oft in strife,
I lived, I yet may die in port, at peace,
And hobbly quit, though spent in vain, my life.
Through my remaining years, so soon to cease,
Let thy right hand, my guide, in dying be
My stay: Thou know'st I have no hope but Thee.

On 2nd May 1882 fire broke out in the workings and was followed by an explosion. Nine miners were missing, and a large rescue party, led by the owner and his manager, descended in an effort to release them. Fire-damp was present in considerable concentration, and the rescue party was overcome. When eventually brought to the surface, several were already dead, and most of the others dying. For more than a week each successive morning paper announced further deaths; Dugdale himself succumbed on the seventh day, after a brief rally had given some hope. The last victim died on the sixteenth day, bringing the number of fatalities to thirty-one - nine miners and twenty-two rescuers. Some time earlier Dugdale had undertaken a translation of the Purgatorio for Boln's Librarian, which was to serve as a companion volume to Carlyle's Inferno. Only three days before the disaster he had finished the manuscript, which was seen through

WILLIAM STRATFORD DUGDALE

Dante's Divine Comedy: The Purgatorio. A Prose Translation by the late William Stratford Dugdale, with the text as edited by Brunone Bianchi, and with explanatory notes. London: George Bell & Sons, York Street, Covent Garden. 1883. Crown octavo, pp. vi, 395. Preface, p. v; text of Purgatorio, English in upper part of page, Italian in centre, notes at foot; each canto has a half-title with a detailed argument, pp. 1-385; Index of proper names, pp. 389-95. (This is a volume in the Bohn's Libraries series; there may have been more than one impression, but it has long been out of print.)

William Stratford Dugdale (1828-82) was an elder son of a well-known Staffordshire family, and his father's namesake. He entered Balliol College, Oxford, in 1846; became a barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn in 1859; and was appointed High Sheriff of Stafford in 1876. Among other interests he inherited a family colliery, the Stratford Mine, Baxterley, near Atherstone, a legacy responsible for his premature and heroic death. On 2nd May 1882 fire broke out in the workings and was followed by an explosion. Nine miners were missing, and a large rescue party, led by the owner and his manager, descended in an effort to release them. Fire-damp was present in considerable concentration, and the rescue party was overcome. When eventually brought to the surface, several were already dead, and most of the others dying. For more than a week each successive morning paper announced further deaths; Dugdale himself succumbed on the seventh day, after a brief rally had given some hope. The last victim died on the sixteenth day, bringing the number of fatalities to thirty-one - nine miners and twenty-two rescuers. Some time earlier Dugdale had undertaken a translation of the Purgatorio for Bohn's Libraries, which was to serve as a companion volume to Carlyle's Inferno. Only three days before the disaster he had finished the manuscript, which was seen through

the press by his wife, a daughter of Sir Charles Trevelyan, assisted by G. H. Bianchi of Cambridge.

In considering Dugdale's *Purgatorio*, therefore, we must bear in mind that the translator had no opportunity of revising his work. It cannot be doubted that, had he done so, some of the slips would have been rectified. The manuscript which he completed three days before the accident may well have been still in the draft stage; so while we must criticise it as published, it is only fair to the translator to keep the circumstances in mind. The short preface begins:

This new prose translation of the *Purgatorio* of Dante was the work of the late Mr Dugdale, of Merevale, and was undertaken by him in the hope that it might serve as a companion volume to the translation of the *Inferno* by Dr John Carlyle. The manuscript of a translation by Signor G. B. Nicolini was placed in his hands, but he only availed himself of it to a very small extent in the earlier cantos, preferring to give his own rendering of the original.

It can be assumed that Dugdale's general plan was to follow Carlyle's method by translating as literally as possible, thereby providing assistance to the student. His style is rather more modern than Carlyle's, with fewer inversions and eccentricities, and the language is less reminiscent of the Authorised Version of the Bible. At times he is somewhat wordy, as when he renders 'che va col core, e col corpo dimora' (II.12) 'that travel with their minds, though their bodies are standing still'; or from 'chè 'l perder tempo a chi più sa più spiace' makes 'for to lose time is more displeasing, the more one knows its value' (III.78). At times he inserts what amounts to a gloss, as when 'color già tristi, e costor con sospetti' (VI. 108) becomes 'the one already borne down with calamity, the other with apprehensions of it'. Occasionally his verbosity gets beyond control; the following (VII.79-81) is an extreme example, and such cases are not very frequent:

Nature had not been content with lavishing her multifarious hues, but with the sweetness of a thousand perfumes had produced there an indescribably delicious fragrance.

At other times his words are piled up in a fashion whose clumsiness tends to obscurity, e.g. (XXX.34-9):

And my spirit, which now for a long time had not been as formerly, crushed trembling down with wonder at her presence, even before I had more knowledge of her with my eyes, through some hidden virtue emanating from her, felt all the mighty power of old love.

There are some odd inversions, e.g. 'united with that sap that from the vine distils' (XXV.78) is bad English prose even though it follows the Italian word order. Stranger still (XII.68-9):

He that saw the reality did not see better than I the forms which I bending towards the ground trod on.

The Italian is:

Non vide me' di me chi vide il vero,
Quant' io calcai fin che chinato givi.

It will be seen that the translator has changed the word order of the first of these lines to make good English, so his contortions with the second are uncalled for. In line 75 of the same canto 'l'animo non sciolto' becomes 'the on other things intent mind'. At times the expression is rather stilted, as in XI.91-3, which also shows the weakening referred to below:

O vain glory of human powers, how short a time does the highest eminence remain green unless followed by ages of ignorance.

Or again (VII.67-9):

Thither . . . will we go where the mountain side forms a cavity within its bosom, and there we shall await the nascent day.

Dante's direct succinctness is here and there lost in such stock phrases as 'that will waft you to heaven after your hearts' desire' = 'che secondo il disio vostro vi levi' (XI.39). Sometimes the effect verges

on the ludicrous as in XXIX.143-4, 'un veglio solo / venir, fiormendo, con la faccia arguta', which is rendered 'and, last of all, there came an old man alone, sleeping, though with an intelligent countenance'.

We have seen that Carlyle hesitated between translating Dante's bolder phrases literally and paraphrasing them. Unfortunately Dugdale almost invariably paraphrases, with consequent weakening. This is evident in many small touches, thus in canto I the 'cieco fiume' of line 40 becomes 'as a ray darts upon a shining body. It gives itself in proportion the 'dark river', and 'chi vi fu lucerna?' in line 43 'who lighted you on your way?' In II.75 'farsi belle' becomes 'cleanse themselves from sin'; in VI.45 'che lume fia tra 'l vero e l'intelletto' loses its distinctiveness in 'who shall be thy light, to guide thy intellect to the truth'. The effect of such paraphrasing spoils some good lines, e.g.

while still remains a feeble shade of hope
(mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde) (III.135)

For the strictness of divine justice is not lowered
(chè cima di giudizio non s'avvalla) (VI.37)

when the words are often indistinctly heard
(ch'or sì or no s'intendon le parole) (IX.145)

yet keeping his eyes, still open, fixed on heaven
(ma degli occhi facea sempre al ciel porta) (XV.111)

that the one is in a progressive state, the other
has completed its courses
(che quest' è in via, e quella è già a riva) (XXV.54)

that his fault may be equalled by his repentance
(perchè sia colpa e duol d'una misura) (XXX.108)

Dugdale is sparing in the use of archaisms, which makes the occasional intrusion of 'withal', 'wot of', etc., noticeable. He uses some ugly verbal forms like 'laidest', 'actedst', 'conductedst' which in prose could easily have been avoided. In perhaps three places anacoluthon occurs, but this may be due to lack of revision; one or two apparent errors in trans-

lation are likewise probably copyists' or composers' errors, e.g. 'when they had recovered their surprise' (XXVI.71); perhaps 'stern piety' in XXX.81 was meant to be 'stern pity'.

With these reservations Dugdale's translation reads well, as a rule conveying the meaning accurately, and also providing a satisfactory key to the Italian for a student. Two representative passages will show this.

That infinite and ineffable good, that lives above, so runs to love, as a ray darts upon a shining body. It gives itself in proportion to the love it finds; so that how far soever charity extends, the eternal glory extends above it. So that the more people know each other on high, the more there are to love truly, and the more love each other, and like a mirror, one reflects the other. (XV.67-75)

Thou hast now seen, my son, the temporal and the eternal fire, and art come to a place, where by myself I can no further see. I have brought thee hither with skill and art: now thou must take thine own will for thy guide, for thou hast passed the steep and narrow ways. See there the sun that shines upon thy brow; behold the tender grass, the flowers, the shrubs, that this fair land produces of itself. Until those beauteous eyes, which weeping made me hasten to thy succour, come joyful to thee, thou mayest sit down to rest or else mayest walk amongst them. Expect no further word or sign from me. Thy judgment is now free, correct and sound, and thou wouldst err didst thou not do its bidding. Wherefore I crown and mitre thee over thyself. (XXVII.127-42)

It will be noted that Dugdale, like Butler, uses Bianchi's text, of which there were many editions in the middle of the century from 1844 onwards. It is generally reliable, although it contains some readings now recognised as inferior, and is accompanied by a somewhat pedestrian commentary. Although Dugdale adheres to it, he seems occasionally dissatisfied, for he notes a few alternative readings in his footnotes, remarking, for instance, that 'ragion' in XIV.126 seems better than the 'region' of his text. He has a note on the difficulty of XXIV.61-2, where Bianchi reads 'gradire'; but he does not mention either the well-supported variant 'guardare' nor the meaning which it gives.

Unfortunately, too he seems to have neglected some of Bianchi's notes, which would have saved him from mistranslating some lines, almost all of which are correctly explained in the Italian's commentary. Although the original text of II.94-7 is correctly punctuated, and although Bianchi notes 'perciocchè l'Angelo fa suo volere del giusto voler di Dio', the English is:

No outrage has been done to me; if he who takes when and whom he pleases, has many times refused me this passage, he does it of his own most just will.

Against 'che mal non seppe carreggiar Fetòn' (IV.72) Bianchi notes 'cioè mal per lui, o per sua avventura', but Dugdale falls into the old confusion and renders 'along which Phaethon failed to drive his chariot'. In V.17 he misses the point of 'da sè dilunga il segno' by turning it into 'goes wide of his mark', whereas Bianchi notes 'vale a dire, s'allontana dal fine'. He makes another common error in V.37-9:

I never saw fiery vapours at nightfall or August clouds at sunset cleave the clear sky so rapidly . . .

although the meaning is clearly explained by Bianchi, and a moment's reflection makes it obvious. 'Là'v'è mestier di consorto divieto' (XIV.87) is awkwardly translated 'on things of which thou canst never hope to enjoy the undivided possession', which fails to link up with XV.45, 'when he spoke of refusal and companionship'. There is an odd translation of XXVIII.139-41:

They who of old sung of the golden age, and its happiness, haply dreamed that this place was on Parnassus,

although Bianchi paraphrases 'forse nell'accesa poetica loro immaginazione sognarono questo luogo'. There are a few more similar mistakes, indicating that the translator, perhaps owing to haste, did not always make sure of the meaning of the Italian before putting it into English.

Dugdale's Italian text, as printed, shows some variations from the Bianchi editions both of 1844 and 1863 which are rather strange. For

instance, Dugdale prints 'alleviando' in XXX.15, but remarks in a footnote that the reading 'alleluiando' is preferable, whereas Bianchi prints the latter and rejects the former as 'freddo'. Probably, however, some confusion arose with regard to the text to be used, which the translator might have straightened out had he lived. There is an odd evidence of this in XXI.65 where both Bianchi's text and Dugdale's have the usual, and undoubtedly preferable reading 'contra voglia', whereas his translation is evidently made from a text that read 'con tal voglia', which was common in the middle of the century; it is found in Longfellow and Fraticelli, but disappears later from nearly all editions.

From the poetic angle, not much can be expected from a **prose** translation, especially one which has in mind the needs of a reader who is striving to comprehend the original. A detailed analysis of Purg. II.1-51, reproduced in Appendix I, gives Dugdale a central position among the prose translators - well ahead of the worst, but a bit behind the best. To facilitate comparison with other prose translators, Dugdale's versions of one or two short passages are given.

Horrible were my sins; but Infinite Goodness has arms so wide-reaching,
that they embrace all that flee thither. (III.121-3)

'Ah! when thou shalt have returned to the world, and rested after thy long journeyings,' said a third spirit, following the second, 'remember me, for I am La Pia. Siena made me; Maremma undid me. Well he knows this, who, ringed as I was before, had placed his own gem on my finger in a second marriage.' (V.130-6)

From his hand, who loves her before she exists, issues, like a baby-girl that sports about, now crying, now laughing, the soul in her simplicity, knowing nought as yet save that, set in motion by a joyful Maker, she willingly turns to that which gives her joy. She first perceives the savour of trifling pleasures; here she is deceived, and runs after them, unless rein or bit can turn off her affections. Wherefore it is meet to lay down laws as a curb, and to have a king, who at least can distinguish the tower of the true city. (XVI.85-96)

As goats which had been running wantonly along the heights before they took their food, become quiet, ruminating silently in the shade, whilst the sun is hot, watched over by the goatherd, who leans on his crook, and keeps them at rest; and as the shepherd, who camps out, quietly spends the night alongside of his flock, watching lest any wild beast should scatter them; such were we all three at that time, I as the goat, and they as the herdsmen, enclosed on either side by the rocky walls. (XXVII.76-87)

O splendour of that clear eternal light, who ever so grew pale beneath the shades of Parnassus, or drank at its fount, that his genius would not seem to be obscured in attempting to portray thee such as thou didst appear when in the free air thou showedst me thy charms, there where the heavens surround thee with their harmony. (XXXI.139-45)

Apart from the substitution of the tasteless 'showedst me thy charms' for 'ti solvesti', this last passage suffers from the transposition of the last two lines, a change made by several translators to obtain an easier construction. The result is a warning against interfering with Dante's main word order, especially at so critical a point as the end of a canto - here it is clearly essential that 'Quando nell'aere aperto ti solvesti' should stand last.

Dugdale's notes are brief, mainly explanatory of allusions in the text; they give established identifications, and seldom include discussion, although once or twice attention is drawn to controversial points. In some cases the matter of the notes may have been taken from Bianchi, but they are in no sense copied from his or any other commentary. They are shorter and less frequent than Carlyle's, falling short of the extent of the latter by some forty pages; one reviewer described them as 'scanty but accurate'. They suffice, however, for the purpose of providing immediate enlightenment on persons and places mentioned; and Dugdale was probably wise in not loading a popular edition with material which the student who was sufficiently interested could easily find elsewhere.

The volume was favourably and sympathetically received by the reviewers.

The Saturday Review (27th October 1883, p. 545) opined that 'the translation is a correct one, and is presented in good readable English'. The Athenaeum (20th October 1883, p. 495) thought it 'creditably executed . . . agreeable . . . once or twice rather pedestrian'. The reviewer drew attention to a misprint and to two mistranslations; one of these - Dugdale carelessly mistook 'albori' (XXIV.145) for 'alberi' and rendered it 'trees' - is indeed such, but in the other case, VI.104, the critic, who wants 'di costà distretti' translated 'distracted from this side', i.e. from Italy, seems to have been unaware that Dugdale's taking 'di costà' with 'cupidigia' and rendering 'through greed of territory on the other side of the Alps' was by far the better established interpretation, as indeed it still is. Had he pursued his researches a little further, he could have found quite a few mistakes really deserving censure. Paget Toynbee paid a belated compliment to Dugdale's version when reviewing Norton's *Purgatorio* in the Academy (23rd July 1892, p. 64). He quoted a passage (VI.76-90) from both versions and, having averred that Dugdale's was the better of the two, he added:

We may take the occasion to remark that Dugdale's translation is not so well known as it deserves to be, for, as may be gathered from the above specimen, it is both spirited and rhythmical, and on the whole it is correct.

Probably the Athenaeum's (creditably, agreeable, once or twice rather pedestrian) is a just appraisal of Dugdale's work; it is certainly good enough to make us regret that he was prevented from putting the finishing touches to it himself.

JAMES ROMANES SIBBALD

The Inferno. A Translation with notes and an introductory essay by James Romanes Sibbald. Edinburgh: published by David Douglas. MDCCCLXXXIV. 9 by 5-3/8 in., pp. cxix, 277. Preface, pp. vii-viii; Contents (with brief summaries of cantos), pp. ix-xv; 'Florence and Dante', pp. xvii-cix; 'Giotto's portrait of Dante', pp. cx-cxix; English text, printed in terzine, with footnotes (no argument, but subject matter indicated in running headlines), pp. 1-267; index of proper names and principal subjects, pp. 269-77; frontispiece, reproduction of Seymour Kirkup's sketch of the Giotto portrait.

James Romanes Sibbald (1839-85) was the son of John Sibbald, tweed manufacturer, of Galashiels, and Jane Romanes, whose family were long established as bankers and lawyers in Lauder. James was engaged in the family business for a short time, but he retired early, with an adequate competence, and devoted himself to literary pursuits, travelling on the Continent and spending some time in Italy. He was rather delicate, and he never married. During the last few years of his life he resided with his sisters in Napier Road, Edinburgh, dying at the early age of 46. His elder brother lived to over 90, and two younger sisters reached 85; my informant, whose grandfather was their cousin, remembers frequent visits to Napier Road in his boyhood. Commenting on the translator's death the Scotsman mentioned him as a frequent contributor to its columns. He is described as 'a good conversationalist and a genial companion' and as 'quiet in manner and straightforward in his dealings with his fellow men'. Although he had no university education, Sibbald's writing shows that he was a man of genuine culture and no mean scholarship and, as we shall see, some poetic ability as well. Had it not been for ill health he might well have gone on to give us the first tolerable translation of the whole Comedy in terza rima; as it was he died only eighteen months after the publication of his Inferno.

The preface is very short and, apart from some remarks about the frontispiece, only contains the following.

A Translator who has never felt his self-imposed task to be a light one may be excused from entering into explanations that would but too naturally take the form of apologies. I will only say that while I have striven to be as faithful as I could to the words as well as to the sense of my author, the following translation is not offered as being always closely literal. The kind of verse employed I believe to be that best fitted to give some idea, however faint, of the rigidly measured and yet easy strength of Dante's terza rima; but whoever chooses to adopt it with its constantly recurring demand for rhymes necessarily becomes in some degree its servant. Such students as wish to follow the poet word by word will always find what they need in Dr J. A. Carlyle's excellent prose version of the Inferno, a work to which I have to acknowledge my own indebtedness at many points.

The matter of the notes, it is needless to say, has been in very great part found ready to my hand in existing Commentaries.

The historical essay on 'Florence and Dante' is competently written, and gives an accurate account of the poet's life and times as far as the scholarship of seventy years ago could go.

The translation is in terza rima, using masculine rhymes only, and corresponding in the main terzina by terzina with the original. Sibbald uses enjambement quite freely, however, both to relieve the continuous end-stopping, which tends to be monotonous in English, and to help him in finding rhymes. On the whole the rhymes are good, or at least permissible ~~one~~; but there are some very imperfect sets, doubtless representing the best solution of the difficulty which the writer could find, e.g. 'fire - aspire - her', 'house - anxious - brows', 'ancestors - adverse - disperse', 'gone - soon - grown', 'head - plied - bed'. No special care has been taken to prevent the repetition of the same set of rhyming sounds within a short interval. Sibbald's nationality is indicated by his frequent use of the word 'harassed' so as to rhyme with 'last', and by the accentuation of 'sonórous', 'barrátor', 'concétrate'.

Sibbald's translation comes in the middle of the second swift sequence

of the terza rima versions which form the largest group of the century. The short period from 1852 to 1865 had seen the appearance of seven such versions; then after a lull six more followed between 1877 and 1887. We have seen, or shall see, in considering these translations that several of them are mere failures, and that none reach any notable level of success. In every case the primary difficulty is that of reconciling the claims of sense with those of metre and rhyme. Only by dint of inversion, padding, distortion, and other linguistic acrobatics is the semblance of a reproduction arrived at, by which process clarity and dignity, let alone poetry, are almost completely lost. Among all these performances Sibbald's *Inferno* is the most tolerable. Although it can hardly be called a complete success, it certainly shines by comparison with any other nineteenth-century version in terza rima. Among these the next most respectable is Haselfoot's, which closes the sequence; we have only the first cantica from Sibbald to set against Haselfoot's complete Comedy, but an analysis of test passages indicates that the former is as accurate as the latter and definitely superior in literary expression, while a reading of both suggests that Sibbald's poetic quality too is the better.

We do not know how long Sibbald took to make his translation, but it bears the marks of much care and thought. Although he has by no means avoided the usual pitfalls, his awkward moments are rarer and less distressing than those of many others. He shows considerable ingenuity in remodelling sentences in such a way as to preserve the meaning and introduce the rhythm and rhyme he wants naturally, and in replacing poetic effects which he cannot reproduce by appropriate corresponding ones. As a practical demonstration eight *terzine* are quoted below in the three versions of Sibbald, Plumptre and Haselfoot (1899 edition).

- II. 94-6 Sibbald A noble lady is in Heaven, who sighs
O'er the obstruction where I'd have thee go,
And breaks the rigid edict of the skies.
- Plumptre A gentle Lady dwells in heaven whose soul
So feels that hindrance whither thee I send,
That judgment stern on high owns her control.
- Haselfoot In heaven a lady is who weeps to see
This hindrance which I send thee to withstand,
And, there above, bends judgment's harsh decree.
- III. 133-6 Sibbald Out of the tearful ground there moaned a blast
Whence lightning flashed forth red and terrible,
Which vanguished all my senses; and, as cast
In sudden slumber, to the ground I fell. 2/
- Plumptre The tearful land sent forth a blast of air,
Whence there flashed forth as lightning's
 vermeil light,
Which not one organ of my sense did spare:
I fell as one whom slumber robs of sight.
- Haselfoot The tearful land gave forth a blast of wind,
Whence came the flash of a vermilion light,
Which all my senses to one rout consigned,
And like a man I fell, whom sleep doth smite.
- XIII. 58-60 Sibbald For I am he who held both keys in ward
Of Frederick's heart, and turned them how I would,
And softly oped it, and as softly barred . . .
- Plumptre None other I than he who held each key
Of Frederick's heart, and turned them to and fro,
Locking, unlocking, with such subtlety . . .
- Haselfoot I am the one who had in charge both keys
To Frederick's heart, and he who turned them so,
By locking and unlocking with smooth ease . . .
- XV. 40-42 Sibbald On, therefore! At thy skirts I follow nigh,
Then shall I overtake my band again,
Who mourn a loss large as eternity.
- Plumptre Wherefore go on; thy skirts I'll follow near,
And then will I rejoin my comrades' host,
Who wail their endless doom with ceaseless tear.
- Haselfoot Move onwards then, I'll to thy skirts keep nigh,
And afterwards rejoin my troop's array,
Which in eternal woe goes weeping by.

- XVII.85-90 Sibbald Like one so close upon the shivering fit
 Of quartan ague that his nails grow blue,
 And seeing shade he trembles every whit,
 I at the hearing of that order grew;
 But his threats shamed me, as before the face
 Of a brave lord his man grows valorous too.
- Plumptre As one who waits, with nails all pale and lean,
 The near approach of quartan ague cold,
 Shivers, if but a passing shade be seen,
 So was I when to me those words were told.
 But his strong warnings wrought in me the shame
 Which for good master makes a servant bold.
- HHaselfoot As one who is so near the ague fit
 In quartan fever that his nails turn blue,
 All quakes at shade if he but looks at it,
 So did I at the words he uttered do;
 But at his threats shame seized me, which keeps
 fast
 A servant's courage in his good lord's view.
- XXIII.94-6 Sibbald And I to them: 'I was both bred and born
 In the great city by fair Arno's stream,
 And wear the body I have always worn.'
- Plumptre And I: 'I had my birth and found my home
 In the great city hard by Arno fair,
 And in my own true body here I roam.'
- HHaselfoot 'Born was I and grew up,' was my reply,
 'In the great city on fair Arno's stream;
 And in the flesh I ever wore am I.'
- XXXI.16-18 Sibbald When by the dolorous rout was overcast
 The sacred enterprise of Charlemagne
 Roland blew not so terrible a blast.
- Plumptre After that dolourous rout when Charlemagne
 His hopes of high emprise dispersed did see,
 Not half so dread Orlando's loud refrain.
- HHaselfoot After the dolorous rout whereby the loss
 Of Charlemagne's saintly warriors was wrought,
 Orlando sounded not with such dread force.
- XXXII.37-9 Sibbald With downcast face stood every one of them:
 To cold from every mouth, and to despair
 From every eye, and ample witness came.
- Plumptre Of each the glance was ever downwards thrown,
 From out their mouth the cold, and from the face
 Their sorrowing heart, were all too plainly known.

Haselfoot They each of them kept downwards turned the face;
 Their mouths afforded proof how cold they were,
 Their eyes, what sorrow in their heart had place.

These examples make very evident the inferiority of Plumptre to either of the others, and the poetic quality which distinguishes Sibbald; even when using almost the same words and rhymes as Haselfoot, he gives them a different accent. Note too how he has seized on the opportunity of reproducing the salient features of Dante's verse in such lines as 'serrando e disserando sì soavi' or 'non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando'. Admittedly he has the advantage here, because the eight extracts are all ones in which he was successful, but the same characteristics will be found throughout.

By way of illustrating the average quality of Sibbald's work, three longer passages are given below; the first and third are well known; the second illustrates his ability to deal with a rather awkward piece of description.

He who in knowledge is exalted high,
Framing all Heavens gave such as should them guide,
That so each part might shine to all; whereby
Is equal light diffused on every side:
And likewise to one guide and governor,
Of worldly splendours did control confide,
That she in turns should different people dower
With this vain good; from blood should make it pass
To blood, in spite of human wit. Hence, power,
Some races failing, other some amass,
According to her absolute decree
Which hidden lurks, like serpent in the grass.
Vain 'gainst her foresight yours must ever be.
She makes provision, judges, holds her reign,
As doth his power supreme each deity.
Her permutations can no truce sustain;
Necessity compels her to be swift,
So swift they follow who their turn must gain.
And this is she whom they so often lift
Upon the cross, who ought to yield her praise;
And blame on her and scorn unjustly shift.
But she is blest nor hears what any says,
With other primal creatures turns her sphere,
Jocund and glad, rejoicing in her ways.

(VII. 73-96)

Of iron colour, and composed of stone,
A place called Malebolge is in Hell,
Firt by a cliff of substance like its own.
In that malignant region yawns a well
Right in the centre, ample and profound;
Of which I duly will the structure tell.
The zone that lies between them, then, is round--
Between the well and precipice hard and high;
Into ten vales divided is the ground.
As is the figure offered to the eye,
Where numerous moats a castle's towers enclose
That they the walls may better fortify;
A like appearance was made here by those.
And as, again, from threshold of such place
Many a drawbridge to the outworks goes;
So ridges from the precipice's base
Cutting athwart the moats and barriers run,
Till at the well join the extremities. (XVIII.1-18)

'Well it befits that thou shouldst from thee throw
All sloth,' the Master said; 'for stretched in down
Or under awnings none can glory know.
And he who spends his life nor wins renown
Leaves in the world no more enduring trace
Than smoke in air, or foam on water blown.
Therefore arise; o'ercome thy breathlessness
By force of will, victor in every fight
When not subservient to the body base.
Of stairs thou yet must climb a loftier flight;
'Tis not enough to have ascended these.
Up then and profit if thou hear'st aright.'
Rising I feigned to breathe with greater ease
Then what I felt, and spake: 'Now forward plod,
For with my courage now my strength agrees.' (XXIV.46-60)

Some of the awkwardness and distortion inseparable from the metrical form is evident in these passages, but they are pleasantly smooth compared with other contemporary versions.

There are, however, some places where Sibbald finds himself forced to adopt the shifts we have so often deplored. The *terzina* recording 'il gran rifiuto' (III.58-60) is spoiled by outrageous padding:

Some first I recognised, and then the shade
I saw and knew of him, the search to close,
Whose dastard soul the great refusal made.

In XI.42 'sanza pro si penta' becomes 'without avail . . . are in repentance drowned', the latter word being much favoured by translators grasping

for a rhyme to 'found', etc. XII.119-20:

Saying: 'In God's house ran he weapon through
The heart which still on Thames wins cult devout'

exhibits the all too familiar clumsiness, and so does XXVIII.124-6:

A lamp he made of head-piece once his own;
And he was two in one and one in two;
But how, to Him who thus ordains is known.

'Since the way lost the wholeness of its prime' (XXI.114) is an appalling circumlocution for 'che la via fu rotta'. At the very beginning of the Ulysses passage in Appendix I will be noticed a very bad rhyming expedient, 'kept me tame' (= 'me sottrasse'); and the last line of canto XIII, 'In my own house I up a gibbet went' is merely ridiculous.

The frequent use of a mild form of paraphrase to avoid rhyming difficulties leads at times to weakening, and some of Dante's best expressions are lost, e.g. 'che 'l mal dell'universo tutto insacca' VII.18) becomes 'Where all the vileness of the world is cast', and 'Già di veder costui non son digiuno' (XVIII.42), 'This one already I have surely met'. Archaisms are used with commendable restraint, but as usual one or two rhyming words are overworked, 'bland' occurring with irritating frequency.

Sibbald's standard of accuracy is good. Only a few small slips have been noticed. There is no alternative reading which would justify VI.105 being rendered 'Or lesser prove and not so fiercely glow'; 'o saran sì cocenti' is clearly a third alternative and very much in Dante's manner. The point of the conclusion of canto XXVII is lost in a welter of words: 'where paying they reside, / As schismatics who whelmed themselves in debt'. Several reviewers made fun of Sibbald's 'James of St. Andrews' for 'Jacopo da Sant' Andrea' in XIII.133, which they thought carried Scottish national feeling too far!

Sibbald's notes are very well put together and admirably proportioned.

He has many shrewd and sensible remarks to make; his relation of crimes and punishments is interesting and effective; and the whole is enlivened by pleasant touches of quiet humour. His note on 'At Bologna' (XXIII.142) is worth quoting:

Even in Inferno the Merry Friar must have his joke. He is a gentleman, but a bit of a scholar too; and the University of Bologna is to him what Marischal College was to Captain Dalgetty.

It is rather strange that in the long note on Guido da Montefeltro (XXVII.123) Sibbald makes no reference to the parallel passage in Purg. V dealing with Guido's son, Buonconte.

Sibbald had an excellent press. The Scotsman (19th April 1884, p. 11) gave him a long article concluding: 'The merits of this volume are such as to make us hope the author will give a translation of the whole of the Divine Comedy'. The Athenaeum (17th May 1884, p. 628) reverted to its usual theme of the impossibility of terza rima in English, but admitted that the new version was 'by no means one of the least successful'. It continued:

It does not indeed make us disposed to retract the opinion which we have more than once expressed as to the incompatibility of the terza rima with the genius of the English language; rather it confirms that opinion. Mr Sibbald has taken endless pains. So far as we have observed he has escaped all the usual pitfalls. His version offends less than any with which we are acquainted by a resort to forced dislocations of the sentence or the use of far-fetched words and phrases; but these only render more conspicuous the entire change which the loss of the feminine endings produces in the whole character of the measure On the whole the translation is remarkably faithful, the lines run readily, the words, as has been said, are very little contorted . . . but all the massive sonorousness has vanished. . . . The introductory essay on Florence and Dante is exceedingly good.

We have dealt elsewhere with the question of the feminine endings; harping on this really amounts to deploring the fact that English is English and not Italian. The Saturday Review (10th May 1884, pp. 615-6) was very complimentary; after enumerating the difficulties of writing in terza

rima it went on:

Mr Sibbald may be commended for the way in which he has observed the precepts and avoided the dangers thus enunciated. He has succeeded in producing a thoroughly readable English poem; the notes are good and fresh, and his work is entitled to take a high place among those of similar design. His style is good, his vocabulary is that of the best modern English, without resort to archaisms or the 'verbum insolitum'. . . . His rhymes too are natural and unforced.

Most important of all is the authoritative article by Edward Moore in the Academy (14th June 1884, pp. 414-5). He also began by commenting on the difficulties with which the terza rima translator must contend.

Mr Sibbald has succeeded remarkably well; certainly, we think, far better than any previous translator working under similar restrictions. His translation is indeed more literal; and in respect of the ideas, epithets, turns and touches of the original, it both loses less and imports less than we should antecedently have thought possible under such difficult conditions. It is incomparably superior in this respect to Cayley's translation especially. . . . Mr Sibbald is certainly to be congratulated on having produced a translation which would probably give an English reader a better conception of the original poem . . . than any other English translation yet published.

Among the passages commended by Moore is the Ulysses episode (quoted in (Appendix I), although he pauses to animadvert on the awkward phrase 'kept me tame' which we have already noticed. Several reviewers took special notice of the excellence of the typography and production of the book, which was in accordance with the high reputation of Constable, who were the printers.

It is pleasant to be able to agree wholeheartedly with these views, and to reflect that to Scotland belongs the honour of having produced the first really tolerable version of Dante in terza rima. Unfortunately, Sibbald's translation remained almost unknown; it was obviously published at the author's expense, and may have been handicapped by its northern origin and by lack of publicity. Copies are still readily obtainable in the second-hand market, and Dantophiles who do not possess one can add it to their library for a few shillings.

JAMES INNES MINCHIN

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated verse for verse from the original into terza rima by James Innes Minchin. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1885. Demy octavo, pp. lxxvi, 390. Preface, pp. iii-vii; detailed contents, pp. ix-xxii; Introduction, pp. xxiii-lv; 'The obligations of Dante to Virgil', pp. lvii-lxxvi; English text, printed in terzine, with argument at head of each canto, and with footnotes, pp. 1-390.

James Innes Minchin (1825-1903) is the only Anglo-Indian among the translators of Dante. No information is available as to his family, but he was at Haileybury in 1841-2, when he edited the College magazine and rowed in the College eight. He kept throughout life the interests indicated by these activities, gaining a reputation as a fearless rider and a keen sportsman, and also devoting much of his spare time to literary pursuits. He arrived in India in 1844, his first post being in the Madras presidency, and there he remained, as a servant first of the East India Company and later of the British Government, for some thirty years, his first, and possibly his only home leave being in 1866, by which time he had already completed the first draft of his translation of the Divine Comedy. Earlier, however, he had printed two small volumes of poetry, Trafford: The Reward of Genius, and other poems (1848) and Sybil: A Soul's History (1849). To him also the Times obituary notice attributed a sonnet sequence, Ex Oriente, dealing with the heroism and suffering of the Indian Mutiny. During the latter troubles, as he tells us in the preface to his Dante, he was not involved. His last substantive post in India was collector of Vizagapatam and political agent to the government; and in 1868 he represented Madras on the Legislative Council. During his last year of service he was Resident in Travancore and Cochin,

and in 1873 he retired and returned to England, where he enjoyed thirty years of well-occupied leisure. Among his other interests was chess; he was for a time honorary secretary of the St. George's Chess Club, and acted as editor-in-chief of the volume dealing with games played in the London International Tournament of 1883. The Times obituary mentions that Minchin was 'a Latin and Greek scholar in the widest sense'; but while his acquaintance with the classics is evident from his poems and from the original matter in the Dante volume, his 'Essay on the Obligations of Dante to Virgil' is somewhat laboured and at times naïf. The only reference to Minchin's domestic affairs is his own statement in the preface to his Dante that in 1857 his family was in England; the Times does not mention either marriage or descendants. Incidentally, for many years after his retirement Minchin's identity was confused through his name being misprinted, J. J. Minchin, in the India List; eventually the error was rectified.

It is hardly fair to disinter Minchin's justly forgotten books of poems except for such light as they throw on his later work. He wrote them in his earlier twenties, during his first few residence in India, and sent them home to be published, presumably at his own expense. In Sibyl the title poem is preceded by a shorter one, 'The Romaunt of Lord Roland', of which the author says in his preface that it 'is avowedly written as a companion-piece to Miss Barrett's Courtship of Lady Geraldine, the reading of which poem produced on me a greater effect than that of the work of any other living author'. This is obviously the utterance of a very young man; it would be interesting to know how it struck him after he had come under the spell of Dante. The Times says that Minchin's translation of Dante 'was read in manuscript by Robert

Browning - who was a friend - and highly commended by him'. Minchin left England for India at the age of nineteen in 1844, the year in which Lady Geraldine's Courtship was published; he is hardly likely to have known either the authoress or her future husband at that time. He did not return to England till 1866, five years after Mrs Browning's death; but it seems probable that a copy of Sibyl would be sent to Elizabeth Barrett, and the acquaintanceship with Browning may have arisen in that way. No mention of Minchin can be found in the Browning correspondence.

'The Romaunt of Lord Roland' has the faults of its model, without any of the virtues, and it will be sufficient to quote one half stanza from the closing scene,

Where our gentle Edith, yet more fair, in solem beauty lying,
Sheds round a sainted circle a serene death's pure perfume.

The main poem, preceded by a quotation from Mrs Browning's 'The Lost Bower', is in blank verse, the opening lines,

Sweet is the influence of a mother's love
On childhood's dawning heart,

leading up to the beginning of the story of Edith's daughter: 'Poor Sibyl never knew a mother's love'. Mixed with a good deal of immature groping and conventionally elegant ornament, there are echoes of both the words and thoughts of other poets that testify to the author's being an assiduous if not always discriminating reader. He is at his best with something definite to lean on; the following lines are perhaps the most favourable sample that can be found:

Poor Hamlet, dreaming in a reverie
With doubt, and pain, and purposeless resolve;
Lear's royal sorrowing with an old man's tears;
The passionate tale of Juliet, and her love;
Macbeth's weak mind stirred up by wild desire,
And the mad words of his imperious bride,
To crime, with fell remorse, that comes too late . . .

There is a lack of robustness throughout; one might call Minchin's versifying talent 'feminine' in the sense that the label is commonly used. He was probably wise to turn to translation, although one wonders why his choice should have fallen on the stern Florentine, the measure of whose poetic stature he does not seem to have fully grasped.

In the preface to his Dante, written in October 1884, Minchin states that in August 1856 he attempted the experiment of translating the Francesca episode into terza rima, and that he continued to occupy his leisure in the translation of the poem, completing the Inferno early in the following year (i.e. that of the Mutiny). He tells us that throughout that year he lived in security amidst a peaceful agricultural community and, having many hours of solitary leisure, he finished the whole Comedy in October. This means that the complete version, in its first form, was executed in fourteen months. He goes on to say that he spent 1858 in revising it, then laid it aside, until he returned to England in 1866, when he showed it to Professor Brewer of King's College. Brewer went through the manuscript carefully and suggested revision of many passages, recommended Minchin to revise it again and then to publish it, telling him 'that he considered it the best translation of the Purgatory and the Paradise that had come under his notice'. Unfortunately there is no indication of what translations Brewer was acquainted with, nor why he expressly excluded the Inferno in his remark. On his return to India, Minchin spent another year in revision; but although he retired in 1873, for some reason he waited eleven years before publishing the volume.

Minchin goes on to say that he is acquainted with only three translations of Dante: Cary's, Longfellow's and Wright's. To all these he gives high praise, but he feels that

Dante cannot be fairly represented to the English reader without his triple rhyme. The terza rima is a metre perfectly suited for English poetry, and in that metre only can a true representation of the great Florentine's work be presented in English verse.

He adds that he believes that there are some English terza rima versions, and that Cayley's is of more than ordinary excellence, but that he is unacquainted with any of them, so that such similarities as exist between his version and these must be accidental. Some of his concluding remarks are now quoted.

In my opinion, fidelity to the original is a translator's first duty, and that I have refused to sacrifice in any attempt at mere-tricious ornament. . . . I believe that the Italian student who will take the trouble to compare my version with Dante's poem, however slight his knowledge of the Italian language may be, will find no difficulty in following the original line by line; mere paraphrase of foreign poetry is easy, faithful reproduction is hard. My effort has been to reproduce with exactitude the thoughts, and, where possible, the words of Dante in verse that may give the English reader some idea of the exquisite harmony of the original.

Wherever Dante has written in Latin I have kept the words unchanged. . . . Proper names must also be pronounced in Italian to keep the harmony of the verse. For instance, Beatrice must be pronounced as a word of four syllables unless it is spelt *Beatriz*. I trust to the consideration of a fair critic if in a long poem of nearly five thousand triple rhymes he finds here and there a faulty rhyme which would be inadmissible in a sonnet. I have purposely made use of some archaic words in the reproduction of an Italian poem which is at least half a century older than the works of our Chaucer.

Minchin does not appear to have been a vain man; from what little is recorded of him, one judges him rather modest. It is probable therefore that he penned the foregoing in good faith and simplicity, without realising what a tremendous claim he was making. Since, however, he trails his coat in such a fashion, the critic is bound to take up the challenge and aver, regretfully, that the fruits of the district officer's leisure are far from fulfilling any of the requirements he puts forward. It may be said right away that Minchin's Divine Comedy is neither literal, nor

verse for verse, nor faithful to the original; it reproduces neither Dante's thoughts nor words with anything approaching exactitude, and of his exquisite harmony it conveys no idea whatsoever. In fact it must be ranked below the average run of his predecessors and contemporaries because, while much of it may be metrically and linguistically on a level with Cayley, Dayman or Plumptre, it contains a larger proportion of faulty renderings and of ineptitudes than any of these. Moreover, one has an uneasy feeling that Minchin's evident satisfaction with his performance springs not from any lack of modesty, but from a fundamental incapacity to realise the essential features of Dante's poetry.

The first few lines of the poem, which are quite typical, will suffice to dispel any hopes that might have been raised by the preface.

Upon the journey of my life midway,
I found myself within a darkling wood,
Where from the straight path I had gone astray:
Ah, to describe it is a labour rude,
So wild the wood, and rough, and thick, and wide,
That at the thought the terror is renewed.
So bitter is it, 'tis do death allied:
But of the good to treat, which there I drew,
The lofty things I'll tell, I there descried.
How I had entered there I hardly knew,
So deep was I in slumber at the part
When I had wandered from the pathway true.
But when the mountain's slope began to start,
There, where there ceased that valley of the night,
Which with its terror had so pierced my heart,
I looked aloft, and saw its shoulders bright
Already mantled with that planet's rays,
Which wanderers in all pathways leads aright.
That sight the terror of my heart allays,
Which in its depths till then no respite gave,
That night I pass in such a sore amaze.
And as one breathless from a watery grave,
When he has reached the shore from out the sea,
Turns and looks back upon the perilous wave:
So did my soul, which even yet would flee,
Turn backwards to behold the past again
From which with life none ever issued free.
After my weary frame some rest had ta'en,
The lower foot set firmly at each stride,
Upwards I went through that deserted plain.

How would the student with a slight knowledge of Italian fare in trying to follow the original line by line with the foregoing as a guide? Did Minchin know, for instance, the meaning of 'chè la diritta via era smarrita' or 'che non lasciò già mai persona viva'? What would the student make of lines 19-21: 'Allor fu la paura un poco queta'? What is the Italian for 'a watery grave'? May we kindly suppose that 'to behold the past again' is a misprint and should read 'pass'? There are a good many words in the English that cannot be found in the Italian, e.g. 'wide' in line 5; 'lofty' in line 9; 'of the night' in line 14; 'that sight' in line 19; besides such circumlocutions as 'to death allied' and 'no respite gave'. The best lines in the passage are obvious, though doubtless unconscious, reminiscences of Cary.

As to faulty rhymes, Minchin's interpretation of 'here and there' is a liberal one. The fair-minded critic will not cavil at the odd doubtful rhyme, but almost any canto from Minchin will provide a crop of them, not counting such eye-rhymes as 'high - philosophy', 'wise - poise', 'love - move', etc. For instance in Purg. XXVII we find:

blood - glowed - stood	brave - believe - grave
beneath - saith - death	live - deceive - give
take - speak - break	on - stone - sun
assailed - mild - wild	gaze - these - foresees
oftenest - east - increased	fair - here - dear
rose - boughs - repose	trees - eyes - these

Also in lines 29-39 we have the same rhyme six times: try - by - deny - descry - eye - dye, and there are two cases of words rhymed with themselves: set - yet - set; part - art - art.

There are, of course, translators who have announced their intention of taking such liberties, and there may be a case for preferring semi-rhymes to sense-distortion; but the point here is that precept and practice differ widely.

To illustrate Minchin's degree of success in dealing with the poetry,
a short passage from each section of the poem is quoted below. XXXIII.1-9)

The And she to me: 'There is no greater grief
Than to remember us of happy time
In misery, and that thy bard's belief.
But since of all our love to know the prime
And early root thou hast such yearning strong,
I will tell all, though weeping all the time.
We read one day for pleasure, in the song
Of Launcelot, how Love him captive made;
We were alone without one thought of wrong.
Many and many a time our eyes delayed
The reading, and our faces paled apart;
One point alone it was that us betrayed.
In reading of that worshipful smile o' the heart,
Kissed by such lover on her lips' red core,
This one, who never more from me must part,
Kissed me upon the mouth, trembling all o'er;
For us our Galeotto was that book;
That day we did not read it any more.'

(Inf. V.121-35)

(One wonders how the student with slight knowledge of Italian would reconcile 'Quando leggemmo il disïato riso / esser baciato da cotanto amante' with the English above.)

With these two mortal punctures fatally
When I was smitten, I returned in time,
Weeping to him who pardons willingly.

(Purg. IV.81-75)

Most horrible indeed had been my crime:
But Goodness Infinite has arms so large,
They can embrace, whome'er returns to him.
Cosenza's bishop, when on Clement's charge,
He chased my dust in anger, had he read
The text of Mercy in God's Bible marge
My scattered bones above the bridge's head
Would still be lying, near to Benevent,
Safe in the keeping of its storm-built bed.
Now washes them the wave, and at its bent
Drives them the wind along the Verde's shore,
Where they were carried out, with tapers spent.
The Papal curse condemns not evermore,
But still Eternal Love has power to save,
As long as hope preserves its verdant flower.

(Purg. III.118-35)

As midst the lovèd leaves the small bird bides
With her sweet young ones resting in the nest
Throughout the night, which all things from us hides,
And both to see those objects loved the best,
And for their pasture to find food anew
For which all toil to her is sweet as rest,

Forestals the time, and on the open bough
With ardent longing waiteth for the sun,
Fixed in her gaze, until the dawning glow. (Par. XXIII.1-9)

The foregoing, along with the examples in Appendix I, provide a fair indication of the average level of Minchin's translation.

In spite of the liberties which Minchin takes with his rhymes, he is continually engaged in a struggle to fit the sense to the Procrustean bed of metrical form, which is somewhat exhausting for the reader. Thus:

Whence he to me: 'If with that mirror bright
Castor and Pollux were in company,
Which up and down the sun leads with his light,
The Zodiac's ruddy portion thou wouldst see
Whirling around yet closer to the Bear,
If in its odden path it yet may be.
The cause of this, if thou wouldst think with care,
Imagine Zion, giving all thy mind,
That on its under earth this mount doth bear,
So that they both with one horizon bind
Their different hemispheres: hence lies the way,
Which Phaethon had not the skill to find.
Thou'lt see how on this side the solar ray
Must take a different course to the other sphere,
If thou but givest thy intellect fair play.' (Purg. IV.61-75)

Here it is evident that there is misunderstanding of the grammatical sense of the original, as well as extreme awkwardness of expression. Dante's reply is equally inaccurate and unconvincing:

'Certes, my master,' said I, 'I have ne'er
Seen aught as clearly as I now discern,
There where my intellect appeared least clear,
That the mid circle of the heavenly urn,
Called the Equator in the starry lore,
Which 'twixt the sun and winter doth sojourn,
By the reason now explained, here moveth o'er
Towards the north, what time the Hebrews see
The sun strike hottest on their opposite shore.' (id. 76-84)

There are three footnotes to the passage which do little more than add to the confusion. One of these paraphrases Virgil as saying: 'For you must remember we are exactly antipodal to Sion, the meridian of the other hemisphere', whatever that may mean. Another perpetuates Lombardi's ill-worded

explanation of lines 82-4, but that does not explain the complete chaos of these lines in the translation.

Other examples of the uneasy partnership between meaning and metre will already have been noticed, and can also be seen in Appendix I. There is one other novel feature in Minchin's rhymes, unlikely to commend itself to the reader. We have already noticed that Cayley employs a few rhymes such as 'tell a' and 'for a' to correspond to Cianghella, Gomorra, etc., but in Minchin these ingenious contrivances are very frequent. He uses them in the first place along with the Latin phrases which, as he says in the preface, remain untranslated (although, even here, he is not consistent, as reference to Purg. II.46 in Appendix I will show). This proves us with such effects as (Purg. XIX.70-75):

As on the fifth ledge I my entrance won,
The people who were waiting there I see a-
Lying on earth, with faces aye turned down.
'Adhaesit pavimento anima mea'

I heard them saying with such deep-drawn sighs,
That of the words one scarce could catch the idea.

In Par. VII.4-7, to rhyme with tua in line 2, we have:

Returning thus unto his strain anew, a-
Gain was that substance heard by me to sing,
O'er which the doubled glory double grew. A-
While those fair spirits moved in mazy ring . . .

So we have mei rhyming with 'lay we - ray. He'; infusa with 'refuse a'.

The same principle is extended to proper names. We have 'reach ye' rhymed with Beatrice, 'speak ye' with Alberichi, 'huge is' with Bruges, 'idea - layer' with Ptolomea, while to suit Ruggieri Inf. XXXIII.16-18 reads:

That by the effect of his suggestions eerie,
Trusting in him, I pined a captive long,
Then died, with telling thee I need not weary.

This misplaced ingenuity is responsible for what is probably the worst version extant of the ending to Purg. V:

'Ah, when thou art returned unto the world,
And from thy travels restest in idea,'
After the second spirit said a third,
'Remember also me, who am La Pia;
The life that Siena gave, Maremma fell
Rathely destroyed, as he who erst made me a
Bride with his ring espousing, knoweth well.

Even when there is no proper name involved, we get such rhymes as 'scandal - handle - band all', 'cloister - paternoster - lost here', and St. Peter's invective in Par. XXVII contains the rhymes 'vacant - fecant - complacent'.

Another matter referred to in the preface is a sprinkling of archaisms, defended there on the entirely erroneous basis that Dante's poem is older than Chaucer. In Minchin's essentially Victorian English, obsolete words like 'raught', 'dight', 'aread', 'laidly', almost invariably introduced to force a rhyme, are quite out of place. Worst of all is his incessant repetition throughout the poem of the word 'wonne', which does duty for almost anything. Thus we have 'Like as the Romans for the hosts that wonne / Across their bridge' (Inf. XVIII.28-9); 'In order that his words might nearer wonne' (Inf. XXVIII.129); 'Hear as thou dost wonne' (Purg. V.45); 'Than if among them in the vale ye wonne' (Purg. VII.90); 'Oft in vain my sight towards it wonned' (Purg. IX.84); 'Where the sun seems least hurriedly to wonne' (Par. XXIII.12), and dozens of similar occurrences. At the opposite extreme another rhyme word liable to offend one's susceptibilities is 'galore', also very frequent, especially in Paradiso, where we find even a 'doctor learned galore' (XII.85). The constant misuse of ordinary words, dragged in as rhymes, is also annoying, especially 'steer' which represents any kind of motion ('Holy souls, ye cannot further steer / Until the flame has bit ye' - Purg. XXVII.10-11) and 'sheer' or 'shear' (the latter, as a nautical term, as also 'quarter' wrongly used in Inf. XXVI.138, Appendix I).

Some mistranslations have already been noted. They are very frequent and suggest a quite inadequate comprehension of Dante's language. Some may be due to the exigencies of metre, and some may charitably be attributed to misprints; but there are many others which seem to be simply mistakes, of which a few examples are now given. Much violence has been done by translators to the very simple and natural simile of Inf. XXI.22-5; Minchin goes further astray than most:

Then turned I, like a man, by whom too late
Is seen some object which he fain would fly,
Whose forces at the sudden fear abate,
And he runs instantly it strikes the eye.

The rendering of Purg. XXVII.87, 'fasciati quinci e quindi d'alta grotta', by 'Bound on that hillside by a higher Will' seems inexplicable. The sense is frequently reversed, as in Purg. XXIX.19-21:

But since that lightning, as it comes, doth bide,
And as it lasts, acquireth splendour more,
'What thing is this?' within my thoughts I cried.

There is still greater confusion in Par. X.88-90:

Who to thy thirst the wine of his flask to share
Would fain deny, possesses such a power
As water, that to ocean must repair.

See also Par. XXXIII.13-15 in Appendix I for a similar misinterpretation.

Weakening is an inevitable accompaniment of distortion and padding, so that much of Dante's vigour evaporates in Minchin. The martyrdom of Saint Stephen (Purg. XV.106-14) will serve as an example:

Then I saw people with the flaming will
Of anger kindled, who a youth did stone,
Each crying loudly to the other, kill.
And him I witnessed there by death bent down,
Which bowed him towards the earth, yet still with life
For ever in his eyes, Heaven's glories shine:
Beseeching his high Lord, in such a strife
That to his persecutors he would yield
Pardon, his aspect all with pity rife.

There is regrettably little to commend in Minchin's translation, but it is a relief to quote one *terzina* which stood out from the depressing background in the course of reading: (Purg. V.37-9):

I never saw the falling stars at even
Nor sunset lightning through an August cloud
Cleave with such swiftness the serene of heaven

Among more sustained passages the close of Par. X was noted as being above the average level.

Then, like a clock which doth the hour repeat,
What time the bride of God with joy doth rise,
The spouse she loves with matin song to greet,
The one part with the other rolls and flies,
Sounding its chiming bells with such sweet tone,
It fills the pious soul with loving sighs,
So did I see that glorious wheel move on,
In harmony so mingling voice with voice,
And sweetness, such as never can be known
Save there, where one for ever will rejoice.

Minchin's notes are brief and helpful, mainly factual, with only occasional references to textual or literary matters. Unfortunately he nowhere indicates what text he used, but it evidently contained numerous inferior readings. His long introduction gives an account of Dante's life and times and an outline of the scheme of the Comedy. The short essay on 'The Obligations of Dante to Virgil' is mainly taken up with quotations of parallel passages from the two writers (in Virgil's case almost entirely from Aeneid VI), and concludes with a short defence of the Roman poet against contemporary detractors. Although a few misprints were noted, the book is well revised on the whole and the quotations marks are correctly placed.

The Athenaeum does not seem to have noticed Minchin's translation, and the only review of any consequence found is in the Spectator (27th February 1886, pp. 286-8). The writer found that Minchin had done his

work 'on the whole with success', and that 'much of his translation is beautiful, interesting and suggestive'. Nevertheless it pointed out numerous defects; so many, indeed, and so well distributed, that the critic must have read the work with some attention. The article concludes with the rather remarkable statement:

his experiment is, with the exception of one German experiment of the same nature, unique,

evidently referring to Minchin's claim to have translated the Comedy faithfully verse for verse. Unfortunately it is the claim, and not the performance, which is unique.

pp. vii-viii; Contents, pp. ix-xiii; errata (both volumes), p. xiv; English text: Paradise, pp. 1-136; Canticos, pp. 139-341; Studies: I, Genesis and Growth of the Commedia; II, Estimates, Contemporary and Later; III, Dante as an Observer and Traveller; IV, Portraits of Dante, pp. 344-532; L'Evoli, sonnet to M.T.P. (his wife), p. 533; Index of Subjects and Names, pp. 535-54; Index of first lines of other poems (Italian and English), pp. 553-5; Index of Scripture Texts, pp. 556-60. Frontispiece: Dante's death-mask.

Note. - This translation has been twice reprinted: in the above form in 1890, and in five volumes, foolscap octavo, by the same publisher in 1892. The latter consisted of: Vol. I, Inferno; Vol. II, Purgatorio; Vol. III, Paradiso; Vol. IV, Minor Poems; Vol. V, Studies and Estimates, the 'Life of Dante' which occupied 100 pages in the first of the original volumes being omitted. There are no revisions or alterations either in text or notes. In 1900 the 'Life of Dante', edited by Arthur John Butler, was published as a separate volume uniform with the preceding five.

Edward Hayes Plumptre (1821-91) was the son of Edward Hallowe Plumptre, a London solicitor; the latter was the brother of Charles John Plumptre, well known in his day as an educationist. Edward had a brilliant academic career at University College, Oxford, where in 1844 he gained a double first in mathematics and classics. He held a fellowship at Brasenose for three years; was ordained in 1846; then taught at King's College, London, becoming professor of pastoral theology in 1853 and professor of exegesis in 1864.

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EDWARD HAYES PLUMPTRE

The *Commedia* and *Canzoniere* of Dante Alighieri. A New Translation, with Notes, Essays and a Biographical Introduction, by E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Dean of Wells. London: Wm. Isbister Limited, 15 & 16 Tavistock Street, Covent Garden. Royal octavo, two volumes.

Vol. I. 1886. pp. cxxxii, 388. Dedicatory sonnets, pp. v-vii; preface, pp. ix-xx; Contents and Abbreviations, pp. xxv-xxviii; Life of Dante, pp. xxxi-cxxxi; 'Incipit Comoedia', etc., pp. cxxxii; English text, with brief arguments and extensive footnotes, printed in *terzine*: Hell, pp. 1-177; Purgatory, pp. 179-374; Index of Subjects and Names, pp. 375-86; Index of Scripture Texts, pp. 387-8. Frontispiece: chromo-lithograph of the Giotto portrait.

Vol. II. 1887. pp. xiv, 560. Sonnet to Queen Victoria, p. v; preface, pp. vii-viii; Contents, pp. ix-xiii; errata (both volumes), p. xiv; English text: Paradise, pp. 1-196; *Canzoniere*, pp. 199-341; Studies: I, Genesis and Growth of the *Commedia*; II, Estimates, Contemporary and Later; III, Dante as an Observer and Traveller; IV, Portraits of Dante, pp. 344-532; L'Envoi, sonnet to H.T.P. (his wife), p. 533; Index of Subjects and Names, pp. 535-54; Index of first lines of minor poems (Italian and English), pp. 555-8; Index of Scripture Texts, pp. 559-60. Frontispiece: Dante's death-mask.

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Maurice, and was considerably influenced by his brother-in-law, some of whose theological ideas he discarded later, but whose social aims and interests in popular education remained with him throughout his life. He was interested in evening classes and in the education of women, and from 1875 to 1877 he was principal of Queen's College, which had been founded by Maurice. Plumptre was appointed a prebendary of Saint Paul's in 1863, and held the livings of Pluckley and Bickley. In 1881 he resigned his London appointments to become Dean of Wells, a post which he occupied with success and dignity for the remaining ten years of his life.

No biography of Plumptre has ever been published, but the tributes of personal friends and colleagues in various periodicals give the impression of an able and amiable man, possessed of wide scholarship, indefatigable industry and boundless enthusiasm. His literary output was enormous and varied, including numerous scriptural commentaries on both Old and New Testament Books which show a thorough grasp of Hebrew and Greek, translations of the dramas of Sophocles (1865) and Aeschylus (1868), the Life of Thomas Ken (1888), many books of sermons and poems, as well as the Dante volumes under consideration. In spite of this ceaseless activity, he carried on his teaching and pastoral duties efficiently and diligently, and won the regard of all who came in contact with him.

We may mention here two of Plumptre's limitations which must be borne in mind when assessing the value of his work on Dante. The first is his tendency to mingle or confuse conjecture and fact. Although his research into Dante's life in all its aspects was thorough, competent and independent, his conclusions carry less weight than they might but for his readiness to accept very doubtful possibilities first as probabilities and then as evidence to elevate other possibilities in the same way - a procedure that would surely

have incurred Dante's censure if we may judge his views from those of Saint Peter in Par. XXIV. If Dante only mentions a place, the Dean is already half convinced that he must have visited it; then he goes on to weld such a series of weak links into a chain of irrefutable argument. Moreover, as he himself admits, he has 'a strong personal interest' in the matter. He wanted first to prove that Dante had been at Oxford, which he did to his own satisfaction in an article which appeared in the Contemporary Review (1881). But when he next did his utmost to prove that Dante had visited Wells and Glastonbury, some merriment was provoked among the critics, who wondered whether he would have been so successful had he been a Cambridge man or the Dean of some other Cathedral. As an example of his logic we may take the note on Inf. XV.4 ('tra Guizzante e Bruggia'); having identified the former place as Wissant, he remarks:

In connexion with Dante's travels the passage indicates a route taken from Cologne (XXIII.62) to Bruges and Wissant, and thence by Dover to London and Oxford (see note on XII.120).

The latter note, on Guy de Montfort, simply says that 'the passage takes its place . . . in the evidence which shows that Dante probably visited London and Oxford . . .'; the note on Cologne reads:

In spite of the v.l. of Clugni, or of a conjectural identification with a Cologne in the Veronese territory, there is little doubt that the more famous Cologne is meant; and if so, we have another trace of the extent of Dante's travels. It is obvious that he may have travelled by the Rhine on his way to or from Bruges (XV.4).

By the time we reach the essay on 'Dante as an Observer and Traveller' at the end of the second volume the 'mutual support' of all these passages is complete. Dante travelled via Arles (Inf. IX.112-5), up the Rhone Valley (Par. VI.58-60), attended Sigier's lectures in Paris (Par. X.136-8), noted the beavers in the Moselle or the Rhine (Inf. XVII.19-22), visited Cologne (Inf. XXIII.58-63), thence 'we follow him through the Netherlands to Bruges

and the adjacent country' (Inf. XV.1-6); then comes the triumphant conclusion:

The Guizzant here named I identify with Wissant on the French coast, between Calais and Boulogne. It is now a poor village, a mile or two from the sea, and the sand has silted up its harbour, and Calais has risen as it decayed; but in Dante's time it was the port of embarkation, as Calais is now, for England; and, I may add, it was a place which few travellers would, in the common course of things, visit, except for the purpose of so embarking. This alone would make it probable that Dante took ship there and sailed up the Thames to London; and so we are able, as it were, to welcome the great poet's arrival in England.

Add to that the reference to Guy de Montfort, and the remarks by Boccaccio and Giovanni da Serravalle, and Dante's knowledge of Roger Bacon's optical theories - and the road from Florence to Oxford is signposted all the way. After this it is a simple matter to use Dante's references to clocks in the Paradiso, and the fact that he shows some knowledge of the Arthurian legend, and the fact that the bankers of Florence (one of whom was married to Dante's Beatrice) had dealings in the fourteenth century with the Dean and Chapter of Wells, to suggest that 'Dante would have gone a long way round' for the sake of seeing Arthur's grave at Glastonbury and the wonders of Peter Lightfoot's clock at Wells. A good deal of fun was poked at the Dean by his critics concerning these ingenious and ingenuous pieces of reasoning; and it is a pity that he should have allowed his local patriotism to run away with him to an extent which detracts from the solid merit of his researches.

The other limitation that must be mentioned is Plumptre's lack of any deep or strong poetic sense. That he did, in fact, write original poetry only affords confirmation of this. It is notorious that during the second half of the nineteenth century there was a decline in poetic appreciation, and an acceptance of the second and third rate as being in the main stream

of English poetic tradition, while the real torchbearers were very much in the wilderness. Both in his comments and in his own verse the Dean is very much a man of his generation. Among his hundreds of pages of notes and studies very little is said about Dante as a poet, nor does his translation indicate any special effort to rise to the level of the greater passages. It would be unfair, perhaps, to quote any of the Dean's dedicatory sonnets against him, for such performances often proceed from duty rather than from inspiration; suffice it to say that one could not compare them for a moment to the sonnets which accompany Longfellow's translation. Plumptre's volumes of original verse are described by a sympathetic critic as 'refined and elegant but seldom really forcible', while his hymns are said to satisfy 'the not very exacting requirements of such collections'. The latter are, however, the part of his work most likely to preserve his memory, for they are well written and have the qualities which devotional occasions require; such hymns as 'Thy hand, O God, has guided' and 'At even when the sun was set' will retain their popularity for a long time to come.

Plumptre's versions of Aeschylus and Sophocles, in unrhymed verse, maintain a respectable if not an impressive level, and are certainly his best achievement as a translator. This is probably partly due to the freedom which the absence of rhyme afforded him, and partly to his being more at home, both culturally and linguistically, with classical Greek than with medieval Italian. The following is his version of part of a well-known chorus (Oedipus at Colonus, 668 ff):

Of all the land that counts the horse its pride,
Thou com'st, O stranger, to the noblest spot,
Colonus, glistening bright,
Where evermore, in thickets freshly green,
The clear-voiced nightingale
Still loves to haunt, and pour her plaintive song,
By purpling ivy hid,

Or the thick leafage sacred to the Gods,
By mortal's foot untouched,
By sun and wind unscathed.
There wanders Dionysos wild and free,
Still following with the train of Goddess-nymphs,
Protectors of his youth.

Compare this with his translation of one of Dante's best known sonnets
(Vita Nuova, c. 42):

Beyond the sphere that wheeleth widest round
Passeth the sigh that issues from my heart;
New power of mind, that Love's might doth impart
With tears to it, draws it to higher ground.
When it the goal of ~~it~~ all desire hath found,
It sees a lady clothed with honour bright,
And shineth so, that through that glorious light
Clear visions for the pilgrim soul abound.
It sees her such that when its tale it tells,
I hear it not, it speaks so soft and low
To the sad heart that bids it speak of her;
Yet that it speaks of that fair dame I know,
Since on my Beatrice oft it dwells,
So that I hear it well, O ladies dear.

Apart from other shortcomings, the lack of ease and confidence are very evident in the rendering from the Italian, whereas that from the Greek reads smoothly and naturally. This sample may be taken as typical of the general level of Plumptre's Canzoniere which, as they lie outside the scope of this work, will not be discussed further. Incidentally, beyond a bare statement that the Vita Nuova had been translated by D. G. Rossetti, and a reference in a footnote to his books having been useful among others, the Dean makes no mention of his predecessor's translation of 1861.

In his preface Plumptre says that he was first led to the study of the Divine Comedy by reading Dean Church's essay some thirty years earlier, and thence to the decision of translate it. By 1867 he had some portions ready for submission to friends. He felt that the versions which then held the field, being unrhymed, 'for that very reason fail to give the reader a sense of the strength and mastery over language as the original

gives it, and we lose altogether the impression made by the interlinked, interwoven continuity with which line follows on line and thought on thought throughout a whole canto'. He thought that 'little can be said in favour' of such rhymed versions as Boyd's or Wright's, nor did he think that satisfaction could be found in prose renderings like Carlyle's and Butler's, although he admitted their usefulness to the student. He was then unaware, he says, of the translations in terza rima by Cayley, Dayman, Brooksbank, Thomas and Mrs Ramsay; while he was at work he heard of those by Ford, Ellaby, Tomlinson, Pike, Sibbald and Minchin; but he made acquaintance with none, nor does he, very rightly, do more than name them, concluding with the good sense that is characteristic of him when he is not riding a hobbyhorse:

There can, I believe, be no worse introduction to a translator's work than that he should sit in judgment on the labours of his predecessors. . . . I have no doubt that each of these versions has, like my own, its special merits and defects. I hope and believe that each of the translators has found in his work, as I have found in mine, its own best reward. Each, perhaps, has had the added comfort of a small select circle of sympathising friends.

When the work, often interrupted, was nearing completion, Plumptre printed a pamphlet containing the first four cantos of the *Inferno* along with the Francesca and Ugolino passages, and in 1883 sent them for criticism to such friends and acquaintances as Cardinal Newman, W. E. Gladstone, Dean Church, Archdeacon Farrar, Canon Liddon, J. A. Symonds, J. G. Whittier, Edward Moore, H. F. Tozer and A. J. Butler. Following this,

. . . the answers which I received varied much, as might be expected, in their character. Some thought I was aiming at the unattainable; that Dante must remain for all time, if not unknown and unknowable, at all events the untranslated, the untranslatable. On the whole, however, there was a balance in favour of completing what I had begun, and I was encouraged to go over my work again with a view to that completion.

When at last the two volumes appeared in 1886 and 1887, they could

truthfully be described as monumental; not only were they bulky, but tightly packed; the notes, which are roughly equal to the text in extent, are in six point type which is decidedly trying to the eyes. Besides translating and annotating the Comedy and Canzoniere, the Dean provided some 350 pages of other matter, the comprehensive nature of which is evident from the account of the contents given above. Of the value of his 'Studies and Estimates' we have already spoken in the Introduction. The Spectator (17th March 1888, pp. 387-8) in a glowing review of the completed work said:

No book about Dante has been published in England that will stand comparison with Dean Plumptre's. The only fitting epithet we can find for it is 'noble'.

It calls the translation 'lucid, ingenious, not unfrequently felicitous' and 'also faithful to a degree that might with very little exaggeration be described as unparalleled', the notes are 'admirable', the Introduction 'excellent'.

A more sober view was taken by Edward Moore who reviewed each volume in turn in the Academy (25th December 1886, pp. 419-20; 14th January 1888, pp. 19-20). While doing full justice to the solid value of his friend's research, and bestowing 'ungrudging praise' on the notes, he was obliged to accord very limited approval to the translation itself, and to point out some of the flaws in the Dean's logic. The Saturday Review (25th December 1886, pp. 847-8) found the first instalment of the translation to be 'of uniform excellence', and complimented him on his avoidance of archaisms and forced rhymes, at the same time making fun of some slips and misprints, and mildly rebuking the Dean's credulity. The conclusion of the article rather contradicts the earlier part, being to the effect that the new version 'cannot on the whole be said to be either more poetical or more close to the original than those of several of his predecessors', and still more

astonishingly taking the opportunity to remark that the very earliest English translation of the Divine Comedy, Charles Rogers' *Inferno*, was 'a very creditable performance'. The Athenaeum (15th January 1887, pp. 90-1) was caustic:

We have so often given our reasons for believing that this measure (terza rima) will never be satisfactorily adapted to English words that there is no need to say here more on that head, except that Dr Plumptre's version confirms us in the opinion. If he, a scholar and practised translator, not devoid of a gift for versifying, can make no more of it than he has done, it seems useless to expect that anyone will ever do it. . . . Towards the end of this volume he seems almost to have given up the struggle . . .

Several defective rhymes from *Purg.* XXXIII are then quoted (they were rectified in Plumptre's errata), as well as several misprints, and something is also said about the mixture of history and conjecture in reconstructing Dante's ^{life} ~~life~~ and travels. When the second volume appeared, the same reviewer (14th January 1888, p. 46) expressed joy at finding his suggestions adopted in the errata list, but declined to change his view as to the merit of the translation, pointing out further misprints and mistranslations from the *Paradiso*. There are, in fact, too many misprints, including a great number of misplaced quotation marks. Probably, after working on the book for twenty years, the Dean had not much enthusiasm left for reading proofs; but it is strange that both he, a first-class honours graduate in mathematics, and the highly reputable firm who printed the book, should have let the formula for the sum of a geometrical progression appear in the form it does in the note to *Par.* XXVIII.93; it is still wrong, by the way, in the entirely different type of the 1899 edition.

It may be remarked here that Plumptre, unlike Dayman, makes no effort to avoid repeating the same set of rhyming sounds close together. His rhymes are too often banal and obvious, easy and common words being much overworked. He rhymes indiscriminately such sounds as 'there - here - her', 'clear - stir'; adverbs in '-ly' now with 'see', now with 'high'; preterites

like 'accompanied' with 'guide'; 'meditation' or 'communion' with 'shone', and so on. He uses archaisms less freely than some of his predecessors, but there is still a fair sprinkling of words like 'ween', 'dight', 'eyne', etc. Worst of all, there is continual distortion of sense and fitness to suit the nearest available rhyme, combined with an apparent inability to detect the resulting ineptness or cacophony. Nor does there seem to be any real attempt to find English equivalents for Dante's linguistic effects, except some peculiarly unsuccessful ones like:

And now upon the turbid waves there pealed
A crash and clang at which I stood aghast,
That made both shores to trembling movement yield; (Purg. III.121-35)
Not otherwise it was than tempest blast,
Impetuous rushing through opposing heat,
That smites the forest, sweeping on so fast, (Par. III.121-3)
It rends the branches, beats them, bears off fleet,
And in its pride moves on, while dust-clouds dance,
And beasts and shepherds drives to seek retreat. (Inf. IX.64-72)

E'en though it flows on, brown and brown in hue,
Beneath the eternal shade where never sun
Nor moon the darkness with their rays break through. (Purg. XXVIII.31-3)

The spheres corporeal more or less space fill,
According to the more or less of might
Which throughout every portion worketh still.
A greater bliss doth greater good requite,
And great bliss a greater frame must show,
If all its parts attain their fullest height. (Par. XXVIII.64-9)

At other times Plumptre seems to be entirely unaware of the power or beauty of the original, replacing it with language that is flat, clumsy and sometimes ludicrous, e.g.

It chanced one day we read for our delight
How love held fast the soul of Lancelot;
Alone were we, nor deemed but all was right; (Inf. XXV.18)
Full many a time our eyes their glances shot,
As we read on; our cheeks now paled, now blushed;
But one short moment doomed us to our lot. (Inf. XXVII.35)
When as we read how smile long sought for flushed
Fair face at kiss of lover so renowned,
He kissed me on my lips, as impulse rushed, (Inf. XXX.72)

All trembling; now with me for aye is bound.
Writer and book were Gallehault to our will:
No time for reading more that day we found. (Inf. V.127-38)

Dreadful and dire the sins that wrapt me round,
But such wide arms hath Goodness infinite
That room for each returning soul is found,
And if Cosenza's pastor had read right -
He was by Clement sent my steps to chase -
This Scripture wisely, as by God's own light,
My bones had still found rest, were that the case,
At the bridge-head to Benevento near,
Where the vast cairn stands bulwark of the place.
Now the rain bathes them, and the storm-winds bear
Beyond the realm, yea, hard by Verde's stream,
By him, with lights extinguished, carried there.
Nor by their maledictions lost, I deem,
Is Love Eternal beyond power of change,
So long as Hope's young buds with verdure gleam. (Purg. III.121-35)

So spake she, and began her strain to pour,
'Ave Maria', parting, with that song,
As sinks a stone by deep pool covered o'er. (Par. III.121-3)

There is throughout a deplorable surrender of sense and style to the exigencies of rhyme by inversion, padding or misuse of words, as will be evident from the extracts given and from those in Appendix I (note, for instance, the extraordinary 'hand in glove' of Inf. XXVI.99). The following are a few examples of the kind of thing that is found repeatedly in every canto.

for trust make room = però ti fa sicuro (Inf. IX.30)

Then going further on my gazing tour
(E com' io riguardando tra lor vegno) (Inf. XVII.58)

O everlasting weary robe of state
(Oh in eterno faticoso manto) (Inf. XXIII.67)

What region doth this scorner shroud?
(ov'è, ov'è l'acerbo?) (Inf. XXV.18)

Speak thou, for he too is as Latin known
(Parla tu; questi è latino) (Inf. XXVII.33)

To make me into sighs more frequent burst
(a metter più li miei sospiri in fuga) (Inf. XXX.72)

The fact is other than thy thoughts brood o'er
(ma 'l fatto è d'altra forma che non stanzi) (Purg. VI.54)

Prostrate, with face that ne'er from earth did rove
(giacendo a terra tutta volta in giuso) (Purg. XIX.72)

Repentance bars in life or death-hour's bourn
(toglie 'l penter vivendo e nelli stremi) (Purg. XXII.48)

Yet if to truth a timid friend I dwell
(s' io al vero son timido amico) (Par. XVII.118)

Ere yet the down to clothe the cheeks doth learn
(pria . . . che le guance sian coperte) (Par. XXVII.129)

There Far or Near doth neither lose nor win
(Preso e lontano, là, nè pon nè leva) (Par. XXX.121)

Who the Christ come with yearning glance did greet
(quei ch'a Cristo venuto ebber li visi) (Par. XXXII.27)

In any complete translation of so vast a work as the Divine Comedy, there will necessarily be some awkwardnesses, some blemishes which the writer leaves with regret because he cannot think on a way to better them, but when they occur literally every few lines they cannot be spared severe condemnation.

Extreme clumsiness and cacophony are also frequent faults as a few examples will show.

Where floods that shame the stormiest sea's boast flow
(Inf. II.108)

Which stopped quick climbing up yon mountain fair
(Inf. II.120)

Thousands the fosse skirt, thousands yet again,
Shooting at every soul that lifts its frame,
More than his guilt fits, from that blood-stream's stain.
(Inf. XII.73-5)

The sun's bright darts were speeding with quick bounds,
Those shafts with which, as weapons bright and keen,
The Capricorn he chased from Heaven's mid-grounds.
(Purg. II.55-7)

And when our flesh, more alien from the sphere
Of flesh, and less to rush of hot thoughts given,
As half-divine looks forth in vision clear.
(Purg. IX.16-18)

As when from water or from mirror bright
The ray leaps upward to the opposed side,
Ascending at an angle opposite

And equal, as it fell, and goes as wide
From the plumb-line in that its angle's play,
As science and experiment decide . . . (Purg. XV.16-21)

This His decree, my brother, lies concealed
From each man's eyes who doth a spirit own,
O'er which Love's fire no full-grown power doth wield.
(Par. VII.58-60)

O my dear Root, who such high place dost earn,
That, as our minds, to earthly senses tied,
That angles twain obtuse can't be, discern
In one triangle, thus thou hast espied
Contingent things ere they in being are,
Gazing where all times in one Now abide. (Par. XVII.13-18)

I saw a glory like a stream flow by,
In brightness rushing, and on either shore
Were banks that with spring's wondrous hues might vie.
(Par. XXX.63-65)

Where, as often, padding is inserted it is frequently out of character and jars with the context. Thus, with half a line to spare in Inf. II.63, 'che volt' è per paura' becomes 'That he through dread turns back from progress sure'; in Inf. XIII.127 'In quel che s'appiattò miser li denti' is transformed to 'Him who there crouched they bit until he bled'; in Inf. XXX.141 'e nol mi credea fare' is expanded to 'Yet knew it not in that confusion weak'. There is also weakening of many expressions. 'As though in scorn Hell was by him appraised' is a poor version of Inf. X.36. In Purg. V.57 'On whom to gaze strong yearnings us devour' is a bad exchange for 'che del disio di sè veder n'accora'. And for a completely ruined *terzina* Par. XXXIII.19-21 (Appendix I) is an example of many.

There are numerous lines which are merely ridiculous, e.g. for the purposes of rhyme Inf. XXIX.27 reads:

And heard his name pronounced Geri del Bell',

which might have been tolerated had any verb other than 'pronounced' been used. Extraordinary in its combination of infelicities is this passage (Inf. XXXIII.149-53):

Such touches And I - I oped them not,
For to cheat him was chivalrous and true.
Ha! ha! Ye Genoese, ye strange bad lot,
Ill-mannered, full of every purpose vile,
Why doth the world not cast you out to rot?

Mixed metaphors are not infrequent, e.g. in Purg. XIV.84 'si che tacer mi
fer le luci vaghe' becomes ridiculous through the addition of a word to
suit the rhyme, 'So that by restless eyes my lips were sealed'. Equally
deplorable is the substitution of 'And o'er assent should watchman's part
fulfil' for 'e dell'assenso de' tener la soglia' in Purg. XVIII.63. For
sheer bathos it would be difficult to beat Par. I.19-21:

Oh, enter then my breast, and breathe again,
As when poor Marsyas' carcase thou didst skin,
And strip the sheath which did his limbs contain.

Nor is Par. XXVI.97-9, mentioned with regret by Edward Moore in his
review, much better:

As oft we see some poor brute moving still,
All covered up, and all the wrapping shows
The strong affection that its breast doth fill . . .

Plumptre had obviously studied the Comedy very diligently; his notes
show that he had weighed carefully variant readings and interpretations.
In spite of this, and apart from such distortions of the proper sense as
have been instanced above, it has been possible to make a list of some
fifty cases of seeming mistranslation. A few of these may be put down to
the acceptance of an interpretation no longer recognised, some to mere
slips, and some to sheer desperation in the endeavour to fulfil metrical
requirements. We need mention only a few. The rendering of Inf. IX.84,
'And with that anguish seemed his strength half-gone' is bizarre; but the
same kind of twist is repeated a little further on, where lines 101-3 read:

And spoke no word to us, but had the mien
Of one in whom deep cares and carking dwell,
All else before him slighted and unseen.

Such touches certainly spoil Dante's portrait of the angel. 'Then on those shoulders wide I riding came' is a strange version of 'I' m'assettai in su quella spallacce' (Inf. XVII.91) and obscures the meaning of what follows. 'E stava in dietro intento' (Inf. XXIII.20) does not mean 'And, full of care, I stood aside'. 'Se d'esser mentovato là giù degni' (Purg. I.84) can hardly have been misunderstood, so we must regard 'Wish for remembrance to the author's personal prestige than to its merit. But as we have seen, there thou canst not lack' as a case of the desperation mentioned above. 'See on this side (with few steps they pass by)' hardly translates 'Ecco di qua, ma fanno i passi radi' (Purg. X.100). 'The ill we love is in our neighbour found' gives the wrong turn to 'I mal che s'ama è del prossimo' (Purg. XVII.113). 'Therefore I sigh, and both my meaning trace' is very strange for 'ond' io sospiro, e sono inteso / dal mio maestro' (Purg. XXI.117-8). In Purg. XXVIII.25-8,

And lo! to bar my progress, I descry
A river on the left, whose rippling stream
Bent down the grass that to its banks grew nigh,

seems due to a careless reading of the sentence.

It may be asked if there are any redeeming features in Plumptre's translation. They are indeed few; it is hardly possible to quote any sustained passage that is not marred by some awkwardness. On the whole, the Paradiso is freer from glaring defects than the earlier cantiche. Although the more poetic parts are poor, a fair level of pedestrian readability is reached in the expository and didactic cantos. The only passage commended by Moore in his review was Purg. VIII.86 ff, and from this a few reasonably good lines may be quoted (94-105):

Thither did we draw nigh, and that first stair
Was of white marble, polished so and clean,
It mirrored all my features as they were.
The second darker than dusk perse was seen,
Of stone all rugged, rough and coarse in grain,
With many a crack its length and breadth between.

The third, which o'er the others towers amain,
Appeared as if of fiery porphyry,
Like blood that gushes crimson from the vein.
On this, his two feet firmly fixed, saw I
God's angel, seated on the threshold stone,
Which seemed a rock of adamant to the eye.

We are obliged to rank Plumptre's among the poorer efforts in terza rima. It acquired a certain contemporary reputation, probably due rather to the author's personal prestige than to its merits. But as we have seen, the more reliable authorities detected its faults from the very beginning, and in spite of having passed through three impressions, it has long disappeared from the market as a saleable commodity.

Frederick Kneller Haselfoot Haselfoot (1829-1905) was the elder son of Charles Frederick Cock, a London lawyer, and owes his somewhat clumsy name to the fact that he changed his paternal surname of Cock to the maternal one of Haselfoot by dead poll. He entered University College, Oxford, in 1847, and after taking his B.A. and M.A. there he studied law and was admitted a barrister of the Inner Temple in 1855. He mentions in his preface that he began the study of Dante in 1860, i.e. when he was about thirty years of age; his translation was executed between 1872 and 1887; and in 1890 after many years of revision the second edition appeared. Haselfoot does not seem to have published any other books, and his Divine Comedy probably represents the fruit of his leisure over a period of almost forty years.

FREDERICK KNELLER HASELFOOT HASELFOOT

The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri, translated line for line in the terza rima of the original, with notes, by Frederick K. H. Haselfoot, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square. 1887. Demy octavo, pp. xxvii, 641. Introduction, pp. v-xix; Itinerary of the Inferno, pp. xxiii-xxv; Diary of the Inferno, pp. xxvi-xxvii; English text of Inferno, printed in terzine, with summary of contents and argument at head of each canto and notes at end of canto, pp. 1-195; Itinerary of Purgatory, pp. 199-201; Diary of Purgatory, pp. 202-3; English text of Purgatory, pp. 205-402; Itinerary of Paradise, pp. 405-6; Note on the time supposed to be spent by Dante in Paradise, p. 407; English text of Paradise, pp. 409-611; Index, pp. 623-41; errata slip (10 entries) tipped in facing page 1.

The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri, translated line for line in the terza rima of the original, with notes, by Frederick K. H. Haselfoot, M.A., of University College, Oxford. Second edition, revised, corrected, and further annotated. London: Duckworth & Co., 3 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C. 1899. Demy octavo, pp. xxxvii, 674. Copy of a letter from the late Cardinal Manning to the author, pp. v-vi; Introduction, pp. vii-xiii; Introduction to the first edition, pp. xv-xxix; list of abbreviations, p. xxx; Itinerary of the Inferno, pp. xxxiii-xxxv; Diary of the Inferno, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii; English text of Inferno (style exactly as first edition), pp. 1-201; Itinerary of Purgatory, pp. 205-7; Diary of Purgatory, pp. 208-9; English text of Purgatory, pp. 211-417; Itinerary of Paradise, pp. 421-3; Note on the time, etc., p. 423; English text of Paradise, pp. 425-653; Index, pp. 655-73; errata (8 entries), p. 674.

Frederick Kneller Haselfoot Haselfoot (1829-1905) was the elder son of Charles Frederick Cock, a London lawyer, and owes his somewhat clumsy name to the fact that he changed his paternal surname of Cock to the maternal one of Haselfoot by deed poll. He entered University College, Oxford, in 1847, and after taking his B.A. and M.A. there he studied law and was admitted a barrister of the Inner Temple in 1855. He mentions in his preface that he began the study of Dante in 1860, i.e. when he was about thirty years of age; his translation was executed between 1872 and 1887; and in 1899 after many years of revision the second edition appeared. Haselfoot does not seem to have published any other books, and his Divine Comedy probably represents the fruit of his leisure over a period of almost forty years.

In the Introduction to the first edition (which is reprinted in the second) Haselfoot has quite a lot to say on the subject of translating Dante; but he speaks of his own translation and those of others in a pleasant and modest fashion, which commend his character to us, and are a relief from the aggressive arrogance which we have had occasion to notice elsewhere. Here is his account of the genesis of his undertaking.

. . . The idea of making an attempt at translation first occurred to me in 1872, when I had the pleasure of forming the acquaintance of the American translator of the *Inferno*, Mr T. W. Parsons, who was then in England. He had published his *Inferno* some years before, and was now proceeding to translate the *Purgatorio*. He lent me for perusal several of the early Cantos; in going through which, and also his *Inferno*, I was struck with what I could not but think his unfortunate choice of a metre. In lieu of the original terza rima he employed quatrains, in which the alternate lines rhymed. By this means he avoided the third rhyme, which a translator into English terza rima has to find as best he may: but this advantage was, in my opinion, dearly bought by the obligation to make each canto conclude with a fully completed quatrain.

After enumerating other obvious disadvantages of Parson's system ~~we~~ he says:

. . . Excellent, therefore, as was Mr Parsons' version, I could not think that he had cast it in the right mould. These considerations led me to try my own hand upon some of the *Purgatory* - always my favourite cantica - in a line for line terza rima translation; and I found the pursuit so interesting that I continued it until I had completed my version of that third of the poem. I then laid it aside for several years, with no thought of proceeding further. Circumstances, however, afterwards caused me to resume and finish the work, which I now publish in the hope that the result of so much pains and study may be found worthy of favourable acceptance.

Haselfoot was evidently endowed with a memory to some degree photographic, for he mentions that by 1865 he had memorised the entire *Comedy* in Italian, an ability whose value to a translator may well be envied.

Haselfoot defends vigorously his choice of terza rima, and anticipates some of the objections which he feels sure critics and reviewers will make.

'The form of the poem,' he says, 'seems to me to be part of its very essence. I have therefore adhered to it.' He adds that he has been very particular

in his selection of rhymes, adding: 'Indeed, I have taken less licence in this respect than Dante himself.' He mentions also that he has 'frequently been constrained to find rhymes for Latin words', evidently feeling some apology necessary in this connexion. He has endeavoured, he says, to use Dante's own words wherever possible and 'while avoiding obscurity, to preserve the downright terse simplicity of his style'.

As to his predecessors, he says that Cary's and Longfellow's were the only two versions to which he referred while composing his own. Of the former he remarks that it 'will probably always remain an English classic', but that being 'a thoroughly Miltonic poem . . . it in no way recalls Dante'. He agrees, however, that Cary 'ever and anon selects the most appropriate word, for which I have been not seldom indebted to him'. Of Longfellow he says nothing beyond mentioning his name. Of the terza rima translators he read none till after completing his own, and has no remarks about them.

The remainder of the Introduction deals with technical matters - texts, commentaries, and especially the interpretation of the time references, which Haselfoot had worked out for himself before Moore's lectures were published. So far as Haselfoot's scholarship is concerned, it is quite evident from his preliminary matter and notes that he was a genuinely accomplished student who understood his original thoroughly, was familiar with all the vexed questions relating to text and meaning, knew Dante's other works, appreciated his philosophic and scientific standpoint, and was also abreast of modern research. Not seldom Haselfoot adopts a reading or an interpretation which is unusual, but invariably he justifies it in a note; and although the wisdom of some of his decisions may be doubted, they are always based on a knowledge of the facts.

The first edition of 1887 was on the whole well, though not enthusiastic-

ally received. The Athenaeum (9th July 1887, pp. 48-9), which had expressed itself acidly regarding Plumptre's first volume six months earlier, said that Haselfoot's was 'the least unsuccessful rendering in terza rima which has yet been printed', adding that 'ease and accuracy predominate' - high praise in the circumstances. The Saturday Review (7th May 1887) found the rhymes unimpeachably correct, the notes brief but sufficient, but deplored the frequent insertion of padding. The Spectator (21st May 1887, p. 603) took a rather poorer view, noticing 'a certain triviality in the notes, a ludicrous line in some of the noblest passages'. Edward Moore, reviewing the book in the Academy (25th June 1887, pp. 443-4) was non-committal; he bestowed some praise on the preliminary matter and the notes, but criticised several lines and passages in the translation. Compliments came from other sources than the reviews. Azeglio Valgimigli, in a general article on English versions of the Comedy (Giornale Dantesco, vol. IV N.S., p. 1) said:

... La versione di Haselfoot (in terza rima) è quella che più d'ogni altra richiama all' orecchio l'originale. Mi ha fatto queste effette, leggendone vari canti.

In Butler's version of Scartazzini's Handbuch, A Companion to Dante (1893), Haselfoot's translation is referred to as excellent; this testimonial is not, however, in the original German. But the opinion that seems to have influenced the translator most in deciding to revise and reissue his work was a private letter from Cardinal Manning, dated 3rd November 1889, which Haselfoot printed at the beginning of the 1899 volume, and of which he says in his Introduction:

... His approbation was the more gratifying to me because he was a finished Italian scholar, my acquaintance with him was but slight, and I was not a member of his Communion.

The Archbishop's letter is certainly most eulogistic. Hitherto, he says, he had not believed that a rhymed translation of Dante was possible, then:

You have reproduced the abruptness and energy of the original in a high degree, and also the literalness of the translation (sic). Long passages throughout, nevertheless, read off like an original poem of great beauty. And also there are a multitude of single lines which run like Dante's proverbs. One other excellence is the purity and simplicity of the English. Cary is latinistic: but your diction is monosyllabic English.

Haselfoot was thus encouraged to produce a revised edition of his translation, but he was also determined to profit by the criticisms to which it had been subjected. In every instance where a line or passage had been adversely commented on, he re-wrote it; and he mentions that he made ten new versions of the inscription on the gate of hell (Inf. III.1-9) before he was finally satisfied. Although some cantos remained exactly as before, others were substantially rewritten; the notes were revised and augmented. Incidentally the new volume, entrusted to an Edinburgh printing house, was much better produced than the first edition, though similar in style and format, and is really a delight to handle. The second edition did not secure mention in any of the literary reviews which had noticed the first, which is rather a pity, because the translator had taken their criticisms to heart. Except where otherwise stated the extracts in this article are taken from the 1899 version.

It will be seen that Haselfoot spent about fifteen years in the preparation of the original translation, including the interval of several years during which he laid it aside. One instinctively compares his work with that of Plumptre, begun some five years earlier and published almost at the same time. It is probable, however, that although the Dean took some twenty years over his translation (including the Minor Poems) he spent rather less time than Haselfoot on the actual rendering. Plumptre had a great many different projects on hand, as well as the onerous duties of his profession, and much of his energy went into the notes and essays appended to his volumes. On

the whole Haselfoot's translation is definitely superior to Plumptre's in all respects. A careful analysis of a number of selected passages shows in every respect a higher degree of literal accuracy, as well as more consistent success in literary expression. This, of course, is not saying much, for we have already had occasion to enumerate the deficiencies of Plumptre's version. But to do Haselfoot justice, a comparison with all preceding versions of the complete Comedy in terza rima gives similar results: in every case Haselfoot seems to have the advantage. Even if we consider the single *Inferno* ~~or~~ or longer selections which had appeared up to that time, Haselfoot is still the best, with the one exception of Sibbald. Moreover if one goes forward in time, it is fully thirty years from the date of Haselfoot's first edition before a better terza rima version is found, for he can hold his own against Wilberforce and Wheeler. There are also indications that the reason for this comparative superiority is that Haselfoot took more time and trouble than did many of his rivals, labouring over the more difficult and awkward problems until he had reached a tolerable solution.

This sounds impressive, but it really amounts to no more than saying that Haselfoot is the best of a bad bunch. Let us give him due credit for making a better job of it than many other gifted writers; but a very brief inspection of his version will suffice to show that, despite his industry and ability, the very thing that he sought to preserve by the adoption of terza rima - Dante's poetry - has evaporated. However inadequate Parsons' quatrains may be to reproduce Dante's manner (a subject discussed elsewhere), the American translation contains some pleasantly poetical lines and some genuine reflections of the original. Haselfoot, on the contrary, keeps his reader continually conscious of the struggle to fit meaning and metre; and while the result may be called respectable, it is also dull and pedestrian,

so that one seldom finds six consecutive lines worth quoting or remembering. Nevertheless he avoided the worst extravagances of his predecessors, and his bad lapses are rare; to that extent there is substance in the favourable verdicts passed on him. Cardinal Manning's view that many parts 'read off like an original poem of great beauty' is not at all borne out by perusal; either the Cardinal's taste in poetry was faulty or, more probably, his pleasure at recognising the well-known original in English metre of the same kind lulled his critical faculties. One must also allow for his possible relief at finding that the rendering on which he was asked to pronounce was by no means so bad as some that had been submitted to him; and we must also keep in mind that he was well known to have a weakness for the 'affectation of omniscience'. It is by comparison that Haselfoot shines, and the Athenaeum's compliment, that he is the 'least unsuccessful' translator so far, is well-merited.

When Manning told Haselfoot, 'your diction is monosyllabic' English, he may have had Dante's 'chiare parole e precise latine' in mind; no doubt he intended to convey the same meaning as the Saturday Review when it said that Haselfoot's words were 'taken from the modern English vocabulary in general use' - again in pleasing contrast to the linguistic hotch-potch of some other versions. But the word 'monosyllabic' is significant, because it emphasises a quality of the English tongue, as compared with the Italian, which increases the difficulty of combining in the former a reasonable approximation to Dante's meaning with anything like an approach to his verbal effect. The obstacle has often been discussed: 'E'n la sua voluntade è nostra pace' is a familiar example. In English this is 'our peace is in his will', with just half the number of syllables, and any attempt to spin it out spoils the simplicity. Incidentally Haselfoot's effort, 'Our peace from

His will its existence takes', is as hopeless as any. But although he has not erred in being monosyllabic here, there is a general tendency throughout his work to be too much so; and by using a number of strong stresses together he produces a result that is clumsy and even cacophonous. This, combined with a too frequent use of the possessive where natural English would require 'of the', gives lines of the kind quoted below, which are unfortunately characteristic of Haselfoot's version throughout.

- Which on my heart had graved fear's piercing trace (Inf. I.15)
 If they cull Heaven's sweets or Hell's poison taste (Inf. VI.84)
 If some kind star or better source bestows
 Good on me, let not this my own grudge draw (Inf. XXVI.23-4)
 To see thee not doomed midst the lost to pine (Purg. VIII.54)
 To set thy heart to peace's waters free (Purg. XV.131)
 With affirmation that wins trust's assent (Purg. XXVI.105)
 Through diverse passages the world's lamp's ray (Par. I.37)
 Where those grow sleek who 'scape from vain things' hold (Par. X.96)
 Much more our speech, of tint for such folds' hue (Par. XXIV.27)

These quotations, and the passages in Appendix I, will illustrate some other common faults; often the conglomeration of words results in obscurity or inaccuracy, and as the Spectator remarked, some lines are merely ludicrous.

It takes a moment or two to parse the first line of Inf. XI.22-4:

All malice which with hatred Heaven inspires
 Has injury for end, and ~~with~~ each such end
 By force or fraud for others' grief conspires.

The following (Par. XIX.136-8) is hardly perspicuous:

And all shall see what filthy deeds commit
 His uncle and his brother, whence ill name
 Has on two crowns and such grand nation lit.

In general the expository, philosophical and metaphysical passages are less

readable than in the Italian; part of Statius' speech (Purg. XXV.37 ff)
will serve as an example.

The perfect blood, ne'er by the veins achieved
As drink to slake their thirst, and which remains
Like food of which thy table is relieved,
Within the heart a forming power attains
For all the human limbs; and for this is it
Which, to become them, passes through the veins.
Again, digested, thither where more fit
Is silence than description it descends;
Whence when its drops on other's blood have lit
In natural vessel, one with the other blends;
One prone for passive, one for active state,
Thanks to the perfect place from which it wends;
And being conjoined begins to operate,
Quickening the first-coagulated whole
For its material made consolidate.
The active virtue being made a soul,
Like to a plant's, with thus much difference,
That this is on its way, that at its goal,
Next works so that it moves now and has sense,
Like a sea-fungus, and no effort bates
To organise the powers whose germ is thence.
Now, Son, the virtue spreads and now dilates,
That from the generator's heart began,
Where Nature's care on all the members waits.
But how from animal it turns to man,
Thou dost not see as yet; on this point one
More wise than thou once into error ran;
Whence in his doctrine severance was done
Between the soul and possible intellect,
Since organ by the last used he saw none.

A few lines which tend to fatuity are quoted below, but it must be
said that such are commendably rarer in Haselfoot than in many other
translators.

Who through long silence made a feeble show	(Inf. I.63)
At which my Master's face with smiles was gay	(Inf. IV.99)
Nor had his fall to ruin any breaks	(Inf. XX.35)
So long as putting but a shift on takes	(Inf. XXIII.42)
The angels wheeled, in even flying deft	(Purg. VIII.108)
The nuptials' fair completeness might not shrink	(Purg. XXII.143)
Here thou shalt pass brief time in silvan sights	(Purg. XXXII.100)

She feared not on the cross with Christ to bound (Par. XI.72)

Then with the odours drunk, or seeming so (Par. XXX.67)

It will be seen that quite a few of these and other clumsy lines are dictated by the exigencies of rhyme. In spite of his claim, and the remarks of some eulogists, Haselfoot is not by any means exempt from failings in this respect; indeed his insistence on correct rhymes has often driven him to shifts more objectionable than the mere use of greater licence. Take, for instance, the following (Purg. XIII.94-6), dictated by the fact that line 92 ends in 'soul':

O brother mine, on one true city's roll

We all are entered; but thou fain wouldst say

Did any one through life as pilgrim stroll

In Italy?

Such ruinous expedients are distressingly frequent. Even so, however, his rhymes are by no means always perfect; we get such sets as 'froth - wrath - forth', 'aver - Ghisola - her', 'force, cross - course', 'none - done - union', 'balms - lsalms - arms', etc. A still more objectionable feature, already found for instance in Minchin, is the length to which he goes in order to provide alleged rhymes for Latin phrases, e.g.

'Vexilla regis predeunt inferni

Towards us, therefore gaze in front of thee,'

The Master said, 'if thou canst him discern nigh.' (Inf. XXXIV.1-3)

'Tell me who wast thou; wherefore turned about

Back upward; and dost wish that I for thee try

To gain aught there, whence living I set out.'

And he to me, 'Thou shalt be given to weet, why

Heaven turns our backs towards it; but, before,

Scias quod ego fui successor Petri.'

(Purg. XIX.94-9)

A voice whose chant was from the far side sent

Led us; to which attentive as was he, I

Came forth with him to where was the ascent.

Venite benedicti patris mei,

Sounded within a light so dazzling clear,

That it o'ercame my turning there a free eye.

(Purg. XXVII.55-60)

and in Par. VII.4-6, to rhyme with 'tua' at end of line 2: *mis intento*

I saw that substance while revolving through a *(Inf. XXVII.27) for*
Gyration, chant thus to its note's refrain;
By double light illumed in doubly due way. *last word had been mis-*

Padding also occurs to suit the rhyme, e.g. in Inf. XIV.54 we find
'Whose stroke closed my last day in deathful gloom', the last three words
being an addition; similarly the last two words of Inf. XXVIII.42, 'ere he
renews / His blows on each repassing in parade' are an obvious concession
to rhyme with ('blade - made' preceding. Here again, however, Haselfoot is
less guilty than many other translators; and the same applies to his use
of archaisms of the 'hight & dight - wot - weet' variety to which he resorts
only occasionally. There are one or two very lame lines which seem to have
escaped notice during revision, e.g. 'I by this Comedy's notes, reader,
swear' (Inf. XVI.128) or 'I drew from water the sponge thirsty still' (Purg.
XX.3). Haselfoot sometimes splits his infinitives awkwardly as in 'She
seemed to more her ancient self outgo' (Purg. XXXI.83). *The best single*

The standard of accuracy is fairly good. There are no serious mistrans-
lations, but there are a good many places where the sense is not correctly
caught, probably owing to the exigencies of metre oftener than to lack of
comprehension; occasionally perhaps through careless reading. Thus Inf.
VI.109-11, *no free travail into trembling air* *(Inf. IV.150)*

Though this accurst folk ne'er can be of those *(Purg. VII.23)*
Who reach the state by true perfection meant,
They look for more, then, than their present woes,

may be an attempt at a gloss, or simply an erroneous construing of 'di là
più che di qua essere aspetta'. 'When saying "I was there" will joy recall'
(Inf. XVI.84) is, when looked at carefully, nonsense, though the real meaning
is so obvious that it might be passed unnoticed. 'That I was nigh / Con-
strained to keep attention on her bent' (Purg. XIX.17-8) likewise does not

reproduce at all the sense of 'che con pena / da lei avrei mio intento
rivolto'. 'From whence I reckon all my sinful state' (Inf. XXVII.27) for
'end' io mia colpa tutta reco' looks as though the last word had been mis-
understood. A loss of point amounting to inaccuracy occurs in a terzine
such as Par. XVII.100-2:

When, inasmuch as it now broke off speech,
That saintly soul showed in the web spread out
And warped by me, its woof without a breach.

One finds also deterioration of the meaning as in Purg. XV.70-2:

It as much ardour as it finds imparts;
So that as far as charity extends
Eternal worth spreads over loving hearts.

One could go on quoting examples of inaccuracy, awkwardness and in-
adequacy, but enough has been said to show that Haselfoot, whatever his
merits, still abounds in the faults which disfigure earlier terza rima
translations. As has already been said, it is difficult to pick out any
sustained passages which rise much above the pedestrian. The best single
terzina noticed is Par. XXIII.49-51:

I was as one in whom remains behind
Some trace of a forgotten dream, and who
Attempts in vain to bring it back to mind.

Other pleasing lines are:

Takes me from tran^quill into trembling air (Inf. IV.150)

For what I did not, not for what I did (Purg. VII.25)

His fame, throughout all Tuscany once high,
Who in my front so feebly takes his way,
Siena now lets in faint whispers die (Purg. XI.109-11)

As sleep, dispelled when suddenly on eyes
Fast-closed a new light strikes, with broken sway
Quivers, before it altogether dies (Purg. XVII.40-2)

A passage singled out for praise in the Athenaeum review (Par. XI.121-32)

is as good as anything that can be quoted at length:

And this is he who was our patriarch;
Whence whose fellows what he bids him do,
Lades merchandise, thou see'st, of goodly mark.
But his flock hungers now for viands new,
So strongly, that it needs must take concern
In seeking for strange brakes to scatter through.
And as his sheep for paths remoter yearn,
And wander further from his guiding call,
More void of milk they to the fold return.
Some, truly, fearing harm that may befall,
Cleave to the shepherd; but so few we find,
That scant cloth furnishes the cloaks of all.

As already mentioned, the extent of the revision for the second edition was considerable. By way of illustrating it, both versions of Inf. III.1-9 and of the extracts from Par. III and XXXIII are given in Appendix I. Little change was made in either Inf. XXVI.91-142 or Purg. II.1-51, and only the final version of these is given. The changes are directed partly at making the meaning clearer, partly at smoothing out awkwardness; some are undoubtedly improvements, others are of doubtful benefit. Occasionally a different reading or interpretation is adopted in the second edition, and the reasons given in a note. The increased extent of the 1899 volume is due to the augmentation of the notes; for instance a note of some two and a half pages is added to Par. XIV dealing with the symbolism of Beatrice.

of another son, Paul, is acknowledged in connexion with the preparation of the index for Wilstach.

JOHN AUGUSTINE WILSTACH

The Divine Comedy of Dante. Translated into English Verse, with Notes, by John Augustine Wilstach, author of 'The Virgilians' and translator into English of the complete works of Virgil. In two volumes. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1888. $7\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 in.

Vol. I. pp. xviii, 502. Original sonnet, 'To Dante', p. iii; preface, pp. v-vi; detailed contents, pp. vii-xi; General Argument of the Commedia, pp. xiii-xv; diagram, 'Dante's Plan of the Universe', p. xvi; General Argument of the Inferno, pp. xvii-xviii; English text of Inferno, printed in nine-line stanzas each indented as three terzine, with argument and summary of 'persons speaking', etc., preceding each canto, and fairly extensive notes following, pp. 1-345; General Argument of the Purgatorio, pp. 346-7; English text of Purgatorio I-XVI (as above), pp. 348-502. Frontispiece: Dante and Beatrice, by Ary Scheffer.

Vol. II. pp. viii, 509. Detailed contents, pp. iii-viii; English text of Purgatorio XVII-XXXIII (as above), pp. 1-163; General Argument of the Paradiso, pp. 164-5; English text of Paradiso (as above), pp. 166-481; general index, pp. 483-509. Frontispiece: the Giotto portrait of Dante.

John Augustine Wilstach (1824-97) was born in Washington, D.C., educated at Cincinnati College, graduated as a lawyer, and began practice in 1850. From 1852 to 1862 he held the post of Master in Chancery, and from 1867 to 1872 he was Commissioner of Immigration for Indiana. Thereafter he devoted himself mainly to literature. He published a translation of the complete works of Virgil in English verse in 1884, and in the same year appeared The Virgilians, a review of literature relating to Virgil. Following his translation of the Divine Comedy came a volume, Dante, the Danteans, and Things Dantean (1889). A peculiarity of Wilstach's books is that he had a special type cut for a diphthong composed of the Greek letter epsilon and English 'u' to represent the Greek diphthong in 'Capaneus', etc. His son, Joseph Walker Wilstach, was likewise both lawyer and author; his translation of the Odes of Horace was printed ~~in~~ privately in 1883. The assistance

of another son, Paul, is acknowledged in connexion with the preparation of the index for Wilstach's Divine Comedy.

The preface to Wilstach's translation of Dante is short, and the first paragraph, quoted below, is the only one which refers to the form of the work or the principles on which it was made.

In attempting a rhymed translation into English of Dante's Divina Commedia, the author has been governed by the conviction that only thus can one hope to approximate a reproduction of the effect created by the original; that the form is so inseparable from the soul of the work as to compel the translator to accept all the risks involved in the effort to represent it. The author is aware that he subjects himself, by this course, to severer criticism, but since in translation, especially in the translation of a great national work, so much that is characteristic of the original is sure to be lost, it is hoped that one may be pardoned for putting himself under bonds, and denying himself the freedom which inevitably leads to the expression of too much of the translator's personality. Fidelity to the Italian poet has therefore been the jus et norma of the translator's dealing with the text.

From this the reader might well suppose that the rhyme scheme used is Dante's, but it is not. In spite of the strange method of printing in nine-line stanzas, Wilstach's version consists essentially of six-line units, each rhymed a b b a c c. There is no apparent reason whatever for the space inserted after each ninth line. What happens in practice, at least where Wilstach adheres to his scheme, is that the seventh line of each odd stanza rhymes with the first line of the succeeding even one, i.e. in each pair of stanzas the first six lines constitute one unit, the last three lines of the first and the first three lines of the second make another similar unit, and the last six lines of the second stanza a third. In practice quite a few variations occur. Sometimes the first line of the *terzina* is left unrhymed altogether; sometimes the first lines of three consecutive *terzine* rhyme together; sometimes the rhyme used for a couplet is also used for the first line of the following *terzina*, so that three consecutive lines are rhymed. Occasionally this leads to four consecutive

rhyming lines, e.g. Inf. XXXIII.49-52, 'lay - pray - say - day', or Par. XI.136-9, 'dispel - fell - well - quell'. Since Wilstach's rhyme scheme does not make provision for three identical rhymes in alternate lines, he has to rearrange his matter rather awkwardly to make something resembling the several instances of 'Cristo - Cristo - Cristo' in the Paradiso. In Par. XXX.15-7-9 where the triple 'vidi' occurs, he reconstructs the sense to get 'saw' at the end of three consecutive lines. In Purg. XX he does not attempt the triple 'per ammenda' at all. Each canto has exactly the same number of lines as Dante's, and therefore always ends with a broken stanza of either one, four or seven lines, the final line rhyming with the first line of either one or two *terzine* immediately preceding. Wilstach uses a good deal of freedom with his rhymes so that we get such pairs as 'once - affronts', 'sense - intents', 'wilds - defiles', 'powers - bars'.

While on the subject of prosody, it may be said that eight- and twelve-syllabled lines are fairly common, suggesting a lack of revision. There are numerous obvious misprints, and no doubt others not so obvious, and some of the short lines may be due to missing words. One case was noticed where two words which should have stood at the end of a line were printed at the beginning of the next. The typography of the two volumes is unpleasant. Wilstach's use of a special diphthong, to which he refers rather proudly in the preface, indicates that he may have been a faddist in such matters, and if he financed the publication of the book probably the printers had to obey his instructions. The first page of each canto has a sunk heading, followed by the preliminary matter and one stanza; since the former varies considerably in extent, these pages are of various depths. In each case all the surplus space is inserted at the foot of the page, so that quite often the single stanza is skied as if it were a poem by itself. All the

subsequent pages contain three stanzas, but since the measure necessitates a fair proportion of turn-over lines these are not necessarily all the same depth; but instead of varying the space between the stanzas, once again it is left at the foot, so that facing pages are seldom equal in depth, and the book has a generally untidy look.

Wilstach had the eccentric idea of printing at the head of each stanza a list of 'Persons speaking' and 'Persons appearing'; this is not nearly so easy as it sounds, and being done neither consistently nor accurately had better have been omitted. Printed below the running headline, which gives cantica and canto, on each page is a 'subject' line, and some of these are more ingenious than helpful, e.g. the first two for Inf. XV read 'The Ghastly Ghosts' and 'Destiny Strange'.

After this prologue, it will hardly surprise the reader to be told that Wilstach's translation is as near worthless as any English version of Dante ever made, and he might well compete with such candidates as Hume and Bannerman for bottom place. Like the latter, he might be said to have ensured failure before he started through his adoption of such an extraordinary vehicle. There is something to be said for the six-line unit of I. C. Wright, while Boyd's six-line stanzas have a sounding roll at times, but Wilstach's invention is not a happy arrangement at best, and for representing Dante quite intolerable. In any case, Wilstach himself seems quite incapable of handling any kind of metre; all he produces is a jumble of mostly ill-chosen words which scan and rhyme after a fashion but do not reproduce correctly even a single aspect of the original, being consistently awkward, inaccurate and obscure, often lame and cacophonous as well.

In the second part of his preface Wilstach remarks that he 'has accumulated a large store of interesting and suggestive material', some of

which he has put into his notes, but the remainder, 'which more indirectly illustrates the great themes' concerned, is to be published as a separate volume, as indeed it was a year later. Judging from the contents of his Virgil and Dante volumes, Wilstach treated ~~as~~^{his} originals as the basis for compiling enormous scrap-books of miscellaneous information - historical, political, social, philosophical - rather than as poems. He was certainly an active and curious inquirer. Although one suspects that some of his notes, even when unacknowledged, come at second hand from other translators and commentators, he is an indefatigable collector of odds and ends. Examples are given later. His original poems and his Virgil confirm the impression produced by his Dante that he was largely lacking in poetic judgment and appreciation. He certainly quotes a great deal of poetry in his notes; classical (including copious quotations from his own Virgil) preponderates, but there are also some well-chosen and even unusual modern pieces. In a General Note following the first canto of Inferno he prints Longfellow's six Dante sonnets in full, remarking that although the architectural metaphor 'may be deemed inapplicable, yet do these lines breathe the spirit of the very highest poetry'. But his own effort at an introductory sonnet is much on the same level as his translation.

Poet divine, or, yet, in terraces meek
The effulgent Cross of southern oceans lights,
Or, throned where Seraphs, in empyrean heights,
Close contemplation of the Highest seek;
Thy heaviest woes from wrath that factions wreak,
Thy keen resentments voiced in melody's flights,
Safe thou from Minos and infernal rites;
On whose behalf was Beatrice moved to speak
With Virgil's shade, his aid expert to pray;
On this ~~time~~ humble follower's task do thou
Look down benign! Since went thy soul its way
From out the western wave hath risen, and now
Hails thy great Muse, a realm more wide than Rome's,
And give thy themes their thoughts its studious homes.

The last line, like many of Wilstach's, is a challenge to the grammarian.

By way of illustrating Wilstach's Virgil, which is in blank verse, two well-known passages from Aeneid VI are given below.

From blood of Gods derived,
Anchises' son and Troy's, the way that leads
Towards the Avernian shades full easy is;
For, night and day, to all stand wide the doors
To gloomy Dis; but to regain the path,
The upward path, and breathe once more the air
Of upper earth, this is the task, ay, this
The labor is.

More softly others may bright bronzes mould,
Until they seem to breathe, and better bring
As freely I concede, from marble carved,
The living features forth, and better plead
The cause, and with apt lines the measures trace
Of heaven, and tell where rise and set the stars;
But thou, O Roman, mind thee the great arts
Of government to learn. These shall be thine.
Thou shalt thine Empire on the peoples lay.
Thou shalt the ways of Peace unto them teach.
Thou shalt the conquered spare, but shalt fight down
The proud contemners of thy State and Laws.

The extracts given in Appendix I may be sufficient to deter the reader from exploring Wilstach's Dante further. On the whole, the passages from Inf. XXVI and Purg. II are above his general standard. His claim to fidelity can be disposed of by a brief study of any one of the hundred cantos. A few examples, taken almost at random, are given below.

But Charon's words the other souls had bruised;
Weary and naked, crowned with misery's wreath,
Their color went, they rattled chattering teeth. (Inf. III.100-2)

What melody calm came o'er my senses charmed
As choral voices come that, in high note,
Upon the air entranced and trembling float,
Then sink, but leave the soul's fond ardor warmed. (Purg. IX.142-5)

And thou me shalt unto thy favorite tree
See come, and with those leaves me form a crown,
And worthily treat the theme and thy renown. (Par. I.25-7)

Among so many deliberate departures from the meaning, it is hard to tell how far the text has been understood, but there certainly seem to be many errors due to misreading or misunderstanding.

A few of the more remarkable oddities in which the translation abounds are quoted below.

Rachel beside me sitting, worthy dame (Inf. II.102)

Through me those lost are never found again (Inf. III.3)

Me, whose sole weight the argosy seemed to doom (Inf. VIII.27)

But surely just before - I can't be wrong -
The coming of that One . . . (Inf. XII.37-8)

That which of old its wearer's fatness lowered (Inf. XXVII.93)

He who's to bad men rude
A courtesy does to men whose lives are good (Inf. XXXIII.149-50)

and tell
The truth to her, whate'er ye tell as well (Purg. III.116-7)

Let the guilty drop
The idea that God is baffled by a sop (Purg. XXXIII.35-6)

This bond no man can from its moorings stir (Par. V.46)

Procedure such on so magnificent scale (Par. VII.113)

And deemed himself too slow, this scrupulous man (Par. XI.81)

he my mind
Found all prepared without his gesture kind (Par. XXXIII.50-1)

There are frequent ill-advised attempts at pseudo-poetry, e.g. 'where love's wrecks were strewn' (Inf. V.71); 'in these dim echoing halls' (Inf. VI.10); 'Along the highway of the tenuous air' (Inf. VIII.14); 'Then unimprisoned golden Phoebus laughs' (Purg. VII.60); and (Purg. XXXI.144-5):

The peerless traits of thy transcendent worth,
As seen unveiled in bowers of Eden bright.

As an indication of what Wilstach has made of some of the more famous passages, one extract from each cantica is given below.

One day we read, 'mongst histories old and new,
Of Launcelot, how love held him in constraint;
We were alone, without suspicion's taint;
At times the reading made our eyes to meet,
At times the color in our faces changed,
But one sole thing our fates all disarranged:

When read we how, the queen's fond smile to greet,
He kissed the lady, him, whom from my side
No lapse of painful ages shall divide,
Thus mine for aye, my mouth all trembling kissed.
Our Galahad thus the book and author proved;
That day we read no more.

(Inf. V.127-37)

My sins were horrible, but so wide grace
Hath Goodness Infinite, it no one spurns,
But every soul receives which to it turns.
If had Cosenza's shepherd, who in chase
Of me at that time was by Clement sent,
In God been on this holy truth intent,
The bones of my dead body still their place
Would by the bridge near Benevento keep,
Beneath the safeguard of their stony heap.
Now saturates them the rain, and the wind drives
Beyond the realm, almost in Verde drenched,
Where he removed them, bearing tapers quenched.
By curse of theirs on any soul that strives
Eternal Love's not lost, it can return
Long as hope's torches in the bosom burn.

(Purg. III.121-35)

O grace abounding, which me so controlled
To join the Light Eternal I presumed,
So that my vision I therein consumed!
I saw that in its depths fond love prepares
A volume wherein all resides, which else
The universe holds in leaves each tempest pelts;
Substance, and accident, methods, too, of theirs
I saw compounded, blended, so the sight
That came to me was one integral light.
I think I saw how was this mighty knot
All-comprehensive; for, when this I say,
I feel that joy doth in my memory play;
Whereof one moment's lethargy hath forgot
More than have five and twenty centuries dimmed
The scene wherein dazed Ocean Argo skimmed.

(Par. XXXIII.82-96)

In his notes Wilstach makes reference to several other translators of Dante. He quotes Longfellow's notes and illustrations frequently, and also borrows some of them without acknowledgment. He mentions Cary also; and it is evident that he relied on Cary's translation a good deal, particularly in the Purgatorio. The coincidences are too striking to be accidental, for he often uses Cary's phrases where these are not direct translations of the Italian. Thus we get the neat touch, 'Christians and proud!' (Purg. X.121);

'Forth from his plastic hand' (Purg. XVI.85); 'Let thine heels spurn the earth' (Purg. XIX.61); 'upon a restless wing' (Purg. XX.39); 'A sea-sponge clinging to the rock' (Purg. XXV.56); 'the umbered flame' (Purg. XXVI.7); and many others.

One thing that Wilstach does show a flair for is a kind of facetious sarcasm or abuse. He makes the most of what, in the argument to Inf. XXII, he calls 'the gambols of the demons'; Inf. XXII.94-6 is rendered:

And their great marshal spoke to Butterfly,
Who rolled his eyes to strike, this gentle word:
'Take thyself off, thou damned infernal bird!'

Better, however, is Inf. XIX.70-2:

A son, indeed, I was of the She-Bear,
And showered so much the little Bears with pelf
That pursed I wealth above and here myself.

Wilstach relishes the quarrel between Adamo and Sinon in Inf. XXX and renders it with verve; the invective of Purg. VI is also a little above his usual level. His description of Mahomet's mutilations in Inf. XXVIII is, however, too crude to be quoted. His desire to be smart shows itself in the notes also; for instance regarding the words of Plutus, Inf. VII.1, he says:

In Dante's supreme contempt for riches he has imagined the God of Wealth to be a hen, clucking in alarm at the invasion of her domains. We may suppose that he had in his mind some scene in Florence wherein he figured as an unsuccessful applicant for an accommodation at bank. He probably has had reason to dread the bank-messenger, that opprobrium of noble minds . . .

His notes, so far as they are original, are an accumulation of all kinds of oddities. In a long comment on Inf. III.60, 'the great refusal', he does his best to clear Celestine V of the popular imputation, citing, among other parallels, a recent American instance, 'the resignation, based on considerations of health, of An American bishop, Grace, of Saint Paul', and even finding it appropriate to quote thereanent his own version of

'sunt lachrymae rerum . . . ', which is: 'For tears all history weeps, and touch all hearts / Such tears'. In a note of nearly five pages to Inf. XIX.52-7 on Guelphs and Ghibellines, he finds that these two parties have troubled American politics also, and avers that: 'History shows that Roger Williams was the Dante of his time. Exiled from Massachusetts by the Guelphs of that age, the Puritans, his reverses made him a Ghibelline.' In the notes to Inf. XXVII he is very anxious to clear Boniface VIII of the sin with which Dante charges him, which is, he says, 'without doubt the invention of a heated imagination, an imagination inflamed by personal hatred and warped by partisan animosity'. In a note to Par. VI he informs us that 'American annals have produced an American Camillus: Sitting Buffalo, usually called Sitting Bull, Tatonkaiyotanka, a chief of the Dakotas', on whose military genius he expatiates. He has no hesitation in identifying the four stars of Purg. I with the Southern Cross, of which he gives a fanciful description: 'A great star flames at its summit, another at its foot, and the two lateral stars have extraordinary brilliancy'. In point of fact the Cross consists of three stars of the second magnitude and one of the third, and one of the lateral stars, beta, is brighter than the tail star. It is extraordinary that commentators always leave out of account the two stars of the first magnitude which adjoin the Cross, alpha and beta Centauri, known as the 'pointers', which are from two to three times brighter than those of the Cross itself, and are mainly responsible for making the group a striking one. Wilstach is also able to identify the three stars of Purg. VIII, but his description is a little vaguer; they are 'those of the first magnitude in the constellations of Eridanus (sic), Argo, and the Golden Fish'. In a note to Purg. XXIX.12 a sketch map of Dante's route through the Earthly Paradise is annexed, but this and the explanation

John Augustine Wilstach (11)

given are misleading, and it is evident that Wilstach has misinterpreted Dante's indications of direction. The last note to Purgatory (XXXIII.124-6) is a laconic one: 'The jealous woman!'

y/ Wilstach's greatest discovery, which he mentions twice, is that not only does each cantica end with the word 'stars', but the same word also occurs in Purg. XVII.70 which is the middle point of the Commedia. 'I believe myself,' he says, 'to be the first student of Dante calling attention to the circumstance that the middle sentence of the whole Commedia turns on the same word, "stars".' We shall see later than a modern compatriot of Wilstach's has also made an important discovery about the middle point of the Commedia; but since he has used a more scientific means of determining it, by counting the lines, it is a different point and a different discovery. No doubt some future commentator, by dint of counting cantos, will discover that the middle point occurs between the end of Purg. XVI and the beginning of XVII, and will attach some esoteric significance ~~for~~ to the poet's emergence from the mist at that moment.

Wilstach was easy game for the critics. In America George Rice Carpenter, writing in the Nation (21st February 1889, pp. 163-4) called the translation 'so distinctly commonplace or worse, that it would not be worth while to speak of it at any length, had not certain reviews of it which have appeared as advertisements taken pains to praise it highly'. Wilstach was evidently a publicist among other things. Carpenter goes on: 'It bears sometimes so little resemblance to the original that one wonders if the author had ever read Dante in Italian.' The notes are alleged to be mainly taken from Longfellow and Butler, with the addition of 'a sort of cheap American wit, the wit that tries to be smart'. The whole is summed up as being 'neither faithful, nor accurate, nor intelligible'.

Edward Moore in the Academy (17th August 1889, p. 99) said much the same, rather more politely; the translation 'cannot be pronounced successful either in form or execution'. A list of typical inaccuracies in text and notes is given. The Athenaeum (23rd February 1889, pp. 241-2) was facetious. The first part of the article dealt with Fay's Concordance, which had just been published, after praising which as being 'among the useful results of the study of Dante' the writer remarks that Wilstach's translation 'must be ranked very low among the ornamental'. 'As regards his notes,' he continues, 'if Mr Wilstach were not obviously in earnest we should be inclined to suspect him of a joke at the expense of the Dean of Wells'. Reference has already been made to the passage of arms between the Athenaeum and Dean Plumptre regarding the former's surprise at the latter's credulity, so the thrust was two-edged.

The view of the discerning critic can only be that in translating and annotating Dante Wilstach was guilty of an impertinence the magnitude of which he was probably incapable of comprehending.

he adopted for general use the simpler style of name shown in the heading of this article. Part of his childhood was spent in Italy; then he was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He inherited his father's love of Italy and likewise his munificence in the matter of making available books which could not be published unless heavily subsidised. The elder Vernon was already engaged on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola when he died; his heir, the sixth Baron, in company with Sir James Lacaita, continued the work, and on the death of the former in 1883 William Warron Vernon and Sir James carried it to a conclusion. The monumental edition was printed and published in Florence by Barbera in five volumes, large octavo, in 1887. By this time Vernon had conceived the idea of an English

WILLIAM WARREN VERNON

Readings on the Inferno of Dante, chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, by the Honble. William Warren Vernon, M.A., with an Introduction by the Rev. Edward Moore, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co., 1894. Two volumes, crown octavo.

Second edition (entirely rewritten) published by Methuen & Co. Ltd. in 1906.

Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante, etc., with an Introduction by the Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's. London: Macmillan & Co., 1889. Two volumes, crown octavo.

Second edition (entirely rewritten) published by Macmillan & Co. in 1897; third edition (further revised) published by Methuen & Co. Ltd. in 1907.

Readings on the Paradiso of Dante, etc., with an Introduction by the Bishop of Ripon. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1900. Two volumes, crown octavo.

Second edition (extensively revised) published by Methuen & Co. Ltd. in 1909.

William John Borlase-Warren-Venables-Vernon (1834-1919) was the second son of George John, fifth Baron Vernon, and Isabella Caroline Ellison; he adopted for general use the simpler style of name shown in the heading of this article. Part of his childhood was spent in Italy; then he was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He inherited his father's love of Italy and likewise his munificence in the matter of making available books which could not be published unless heavily subsidised. The elder Vernon was already engaged on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola when he died; his heir, the sixth Baron, in company with Sir James Lacaita, continued the work, and on the death of the former in 1883 William Warren Vernon and Sir James carried it to a conclusion. The monumental edition was printed and published in Florence by Barbèra in five volumes, large octavo, in 1887. By this time Vernon had conceived the idea of an English smaller type and to a narrower measure than the comment.

commentary, based on Benvenuto's but not restricted to it, which would make the best thought on the Divine Comedy available to a wide public who could not hope to benefit by the original Latin. Vernon himself had spent a great deal of time in Italy; he was familiar with the leading Dantists of his age, both at home and abroad. In his preface he tells how he attended the private weekly 'readings' given in Florence by the Duke of Sermoneta, and began his own readings on individual cantos without at first having publication in mind. The Purgatorio was completed first and issued in 1889 with an Introduction by Dean Church. It was followed by the Inferno in 1894 and the Paradiso in 1900. In the years that succeeded Vernon spent a great deal of his time in the library of the Athenaeum, and devoted himself to the revision of his Readings. The subsequent editions were almost entirely rewritten and, in spite of the protests of reviewers about their bulk, even further enlarged. Vernon also published one or two minor books on Dante, and shortly before his death an autobiography, Reflections of Seventy-two Years (1917). He left his collection of Dante books and papers to the Athenaeum, where it may still be inspected in the library.

Vernon's work is included here because it contains a complete prose translation of the entire Comedy, not printed continuously, but scattered through the volumes, the plan being that the text of the Italian is given in short sections, sometimes only a single *terzina* at a time, followed by a literal translation, then by discussion and comment, and also furnished with voluminous footnotes. The translation includes numerous parentheses by way of explanation, and in the first edition of the Purgatorio was set to the full measure in the same size and style of type as the commentary, so that it is not always easy to pick out. A clearer style of typography was adopted for the later volumes, the prose translation being set in a smaller type and to a narrower measure than the comment.

The translation is thus really intended as an aid to study and comprehension; it aims only at making quite clear the meaning of the Italian; it has no literary pretensions and makes no effort at elegance; and therefore can hardly be examined or criticised in the same way as the other translations with which we are dealing. It would lose by being transferred from its fragmentary form to continuous print, because the phrasing and the explanatory parentheses are closely linked to the commentary and intended to be read in conjunction with it and with the vast apparatus of notes, textual, linguistic and interpretative, which accompany each page. A short passage will make Vernon's method clear (Purg. III.118-35):

After that I had my body rent by two mortal wounds, I yielded ~~thout~~ myself weeping (i.e. with contrition) to Him who pardons willingly. My transgressions had been horrible; but the infinite Goodness has arms so wide that it takes (into their embrace) whatever turns to it. If the Pastor (i.e. the Archbishop) of Cosenza, who was sent by Clement (IV) to hunt me down, had then rightly read in (the Word of) God this page (i.e. as to the Infinite Mercy of God), the bones of my body would still be resting at the bridge-head at Benevento, under the shelter of the heavy cairn. Now the rain drenches them, and the wind scatters them outside the kingdom (of Naples), hard by the (river) Verde, whither he (the Archbishop) transferred them with extinguished tapers. Through the maledictions of them (the Popes and Prelates) one is not so wholly lost, that the eternal love (of God) cannot return, so long as hope retains any of its green.

There are a few passages where Vernon writes directly and without parentheses, of which Par. XXX.61-9 will serve as an example:

And I saw light in the shape of a river blazing with radiance, streaming between two banks enamelled with a marvellous wealth of flowers. Out of that river issued vivid sparks, and settled themselves in the flowers on every side even as rubies in a chasing of gold. Then, as it were intoxicated by the perfumes, they plunged again into that wondrous flood, and if one entered in, another issued forth.

As a rule the functional method predominates; further samples of Vernon's translation are given in Appendix I. The extract from Purg. II is an extreme example of expansion.

Vernon's Readings were regarded by the generation for which they were published as an indispensable adjunct of every Dante library, and quickly ran out of print. I can remember making a shop-to-shop pilgrimage once along Charing Cross Road pricing sets in the hope of finding one which would come within my means. At that time, more than twenty-five years ago, they fetched about twenty shillings a volume; to-day they are a drug on the market. Our views about the study of Dante have changed, and it is with real astonishment that we read what was proclaimed as accepted doctrine by Scartazzini only sixty years ago and à propos of this very series of books:

. . . Anyone who at the present day wished to explain Dante without a profound study of the old commentators, and a consultation of the more eminent among the new, would only make himself ridiculous, and waste his time and trouble. A thorough commentary upon the *Commedia* must henceforth be grounded upon the presentation, observation, and critical testing of the material which already exists in such abundance; and its original value will be great in proportion as the commentator has conscientiously consulted all that has hitherto been done in this line.

We may well sigh with relief that such labours are no longer imposed on us; but perhaps we have gone rather far in the opposite direction, when writers and translators make a boast of not having read a single line of commentary. Vernon is often diffuse and tedious, and at times strangely irrelevant, but no serious student ever conned his book without learning a good deal about Dante that he did not know before. Vernon's intimate knowledge of Tuscany and its speech and customs, his all-round culture and width of reading, and his insatiable curiosity all contributed to make the Readings a work with a distinctive flavour and one that can still be consulted or even browsed in with pleasure to-day.

At the time when the Readings first appeared, the minutiae of Dante scholarship had attained such importance in the eyes of scholars, that

the reviewers were all ready to deal at considerable length with each pair of Vernon's immense volumes (the first edition contained an aggregate of over 3,500 pages). The Athenaeum, always courteous to genuine merit, dealt kindly with the volumes in turn (5th April 1890, pp. 431-2; 5th May 1894, pp. 570-1; 5th January 1901, p. 10); the reviewer contented himself with pointing out a few minor errors and complaining (as nearly every critic did) of the noble writer's tendency to verbosity. The Saturday Review (18th January 1890, pp. 80-1) complimented Vernon on his prose translation which it found 'both clear and accurate'. The writer pointed out a number of mistakes, most of which were corrected in the next edition, but he overstepped himself a little by taking Vernon to task for rendering Purg. XIX.5, 'ch'avran di consolar l'anime donne' as 'will have their souls as ladies of consolation' because 'donne is not a substantive but an adjective = given', evidently unaware of the long controversy on the word. Vernon dealt with this adequately in his revised edition. The Saturday Review was laudatory in later articles on Inferno and Paradiso.

War broke out between Vernon and the Academy over Purgatorio and Paradiso. Rather strangely, between these two incidents, Vernon's Inferno was reviewed in the Academy (28th April 1894, pp. 343-4) by a personal friend, Linda Villari, in eulogistic and slightly sentimental terms; perhaps the editor was for the time being contrite over the earlier review. If so his contrition had evaporated when the Paradiso appeared.

On 8th February 1890, pp. 92-3, Paget Toynbee dealt with Vernon's first two volumes (Purgatorio) at great length in the Academy. It was his belligerent period; see, for instance, his remarks about Norton two years later in the same journal (quoted in the appropriate article). He must have worked fast, for his list of complaints indicates that he had gone through the two volumes with considerable care. He thought that

the translation (or paraphrase, as it often is) of the Italian text is generally faithful and lucid. Mr Vernon has a tendency to be needlessly free in his version (as is also frequently the case with his rendering of Benvenuto) with the result that he occasionally misrepresents his author.

He then proceeded to give a list of alleged mistranslations and 'missed points'. Next he suggested that Vernon's erudition was 'not quite up-to-date', and again took him to task on various points of detail. Then followed an attack on the carelessness of the proof-reading, with examples of a host of misprints, and remarks on Vernon's slipshod English', the conclusion being:

These numerous blemishes . . . detract seriously from the value of what is in other respects an excellent book; for the plan of the work is well conceived, and for the most part well carried out.

Toynbee had, unfortunately, some cause for his animadversions in the matter of misprints: a line left out of an extract from the Convito; a verse from Milton strangely misquoted, although the reference was correctly given; and worst of all a terribly mangled quotation from Homer which gave him occasion for his most biting sentence:

The misprinting of five lines of Greek from the Odyssey may be said to eclipse even the performance of the daily papers on the occasion when a certain enlightened lord mayor delivered himself of a Greek quotation in a Mansion House speech.

Author, publisher and printer had all nodded astonishingly on this occasion.

We have noticed elsewhere that Toynbee was inclined to be unduly positive on points that might well be called controversial. Vernon replied to Toynbee's strictures in spirited fashion in his next edition, and had on the whole rather the better of the exchange. Toynbee, for instance, had accused him of missing the point by rendering Purg. IV.104, 'che si stavano all' ombra dietro al sasso' as 'there were people lying down in the shade behind the crag', the point in question being that they

were all standing except Belacqua who was too lazy. Vernon changed 'lying down' to 'reclining' in the second edition, but he devoted a full page of footnote to the confutation of his (unnamed) critic, getting in a very palpable hit with the sentence:

I would venture to point out that in rendering Italian words we English should be very careful to ascertain how such words are understood and used by Italians themselves, and should wholly disregard any conventional use by English writers.

From his intimate knowledge of Tuscan, Vernon was able to prove his point up to the hilt, and subsequent scholars have supported him. Another full page footnote was devoted to the question of La Pia's identity (Purg. V), in connexion with which Toynbee had found Vernon 'out of date' and 'unaware of the late Signor Banchi's discovery with regard to Pia de' Tolomei'. This time Vernon had enlisted the help of Scartazzini, whose letter he quotes, to refute the charge.

When Vernon's *Paradiso* appeared, the Academy review (18th May 1901, pp. 420-1) was unsigned, and once again aggressive. The anonymous critic was very scornful of Vernon's rendering of 'risplende' in Par. I.2 by 'shines':

Risplendere should be translated by to re-shine, to re-glow, to reflect, and not a little of Dante's philosophy is missed if his fundamental conception of Nature . . . is not borne in mind by the translator throughout the whole poem.

This so annoyed Vernon that he actually inserted two separate footnotes, a long one and a very short one, in the new edition. The following is only part of the former:

risplende: It ought to be quite unnecessary to have to explain that risplendere simply means 'to shine, to glitter', etc., the reduplication ri being merely an accrescitive, and in no way expressing iteration. I mention this because, when my first edition appeared, a reviewer in a literary journal criticised my version of risplende in the present passage, contending that I ought to have translated it 're-glow'. Knowing the utter absurdity of such a rendering, I

wrote to Professors Villari at Florence, D'Ovidio at Naples, and Scherillo at Milan, all of whom took my translation ('shines') as a matter of course, Professor Villari remarking: 'In your rendering of risplende, you of course are right, and your critic wrong.' I at once wrote a letter, for insertion in the journal in question, but the editor declined to publish it. This is how grave errors in translation get perpetuated. Dr Moore, who has read this note, writes to me emphatically agreeing with it, and notices that the same inaccuracy occurs in the Temple Classics Edition of the *Paradiso* at canto I.2, where risplende is translated 're-gloweth', a version which no Italian will endorse!

The short footnote (to the English on the next page) reads:

Professor D'Ovidio advises me to leave 'shines', and to ignore the criticism of the Academy reviewer. Professor Villari the same.

The argument still has its echoes; a recently as 1938 Bodey devoted a note a page and a half long to the need for preserving the sense of 'shining back'; but for the most part recent translators have been content with 'shines'. Vernon, incidentally, quietly corrected all the genuine errors pointed out by his critics.

These passages of arms are a dreadful example of the way in which Dante criticism should not be carried on, but they are typical of the passion for meticulous detail which resulted from the painstaking scholarship of the latter part of the century. The growth of textual criticism was in itself a necessary and desirable development; but too often it was accompanied by the feeling that it was the be-all and end-all of literary study. Vernon himself was dragged into the argument against his will. Although the Times obituary notice described him as a 'somewhat blind admirer of Scartazzini', the garrulity which he shared with Benvenuto can often delight or amuse us, while his personal anecdotes of Italian speech and customs provide many oases among the arid tracts of learning. Admittedly he is out-of-date now, but so are his friend and helper Moore and his critic Toynbee. His value in Charing Cross Road may be low, but the set of six volumes is still a good bargain.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated by Charles Eliot Norton. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge. Three volumes, crown octavo.

Vol. I. Hell. 1891. pp. xxvi, 193. Dedication to James Russell Lowell, p. i; note on Italian text used (Witte, with some variants from Moore), p. ii; Contents (with summary), pp. iii-ix; Introduction, pp. xi-xxiv; Aids to the study of the Divine Comedy, pp. xxv-xxvi; English text, with footnotes, and summary at head of each canto, pp. 1-193.

Vol. II. Purgatory. 1891. pp. ix, 216. Contents, pp. iii-ix; English text (style as above), pp. 1-216.

Vol. III. Paradise. 1892. pp. ix, 215. Contents, pp. iii-ix; English text (as above), pp. 1-215.

Simultaneously with the above, the three volumes were published in London with Macmillan and Co.'s imprint.

A second edition, revised by the author, was printed by the Riverside Press and published both in America and in Britain (under the same imprints as the first) in 1902. The list of Aids to study is brought up to date and expanded to 4 pages, and there is a very short 'Note to the Revised Edition'.

Except as otherwise stated, extracts in this article, and passages in the Appendices, are taken from the second edition.

Charles Eliot Norton (1827-1908) was born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, being the fifth child of Andrews Norton, a descendant of the earliest immigrants, and then a professor at Harvard Divinity School. The elder Norton was himself something of a Dante scholar, as will be seen from the article on Thomas William Parsons; he also made a translation of Manzoni's I Promessi Sposi which was published at New York in 1834; his wife too had literary interests and knew Italian. Charles was educated at Harvard, where he graduated in 1846; after three years in business with a firm of Boston importers, he spent the next two in Europe, in the course of which he formed a lifelong friendship with George William Curtis whom he met in Paris. For a few years he

engaged in business again, then in 1855 he decided to devote himself to independent literary work. For two years he lived in Rome and in 1859 he printed privately a translation of Dante's Vita Nuova, which was not published till 1867. His literary acquaintanceships were wide and numerous; we must confine ourselves to mentioning three. His first meeting with Ruskin in 1856, on a paddle steamer between Vevey and Geneva, is described in Praeterita, vol. III, ch. ii, and the next chapter tells of the progress of their friendship. Norton's association with Lowell was a long one, involving contributions to the Atlantic Monthly and later co-editorship of the North American Review. Norton met Thomas Carlyle in 1869 when the sage was seventy-four, an event which led to the former's sensational criticism of Froude's version of Mrs Carlyle's letters, and to his editing Carlyle's correspondence at the request of the family (11 vols., 1883-91). Among much other miscellaneous literary work Norton edited Donne, Mrs Bradstreet, and the Orations and Addresses of his friend Curtis. He also published a book called Travel and Study in Italy (1869).

In 1875 Norton was appointed Professor of the History of Art at Harvard, and in 1877, when Lowell was appointed Minister to Spain, Norton took over his Dante course. Norton had long been a Dante enthusiast; we have already seen how he was both the collaborator and champion of his friend Longfellow. He was perhaps the most potent influence of the entire century in furthering the study of Dante in America, less because of his scholarship than through his enthusiasm and his ability to communicate it. The various glimpses we have of Norton, from his youthful travels in Europe to his venerable retirement at Shady Hill which, to quote Dr La Piana, 'had become a kind of shrine to his old friends and former pupils', convey a fascinating and delightful picture of his character. When Ruskin first saw him he thought he had 'the

sweetest quiet smile I ever saw on any face', and he spoke of 'the bright eyes, the melodious voice, the perfect manner'. He noticed, like others, that Charles, while 'a man of the highest natural gifts', was 'observant and critical rather than imaginative, but with an all-pervading sympathy and sensibility, absolutely free from envy, ambition, or covetousness; a scholar from his cradle'. He was also an admirer of Turner and of Modern Painters, but he did not scruple to criticise some of Ruskin's ideas, while the latter deplored that 'only about the thirtieth or fortieth part of Charles Norton's effective contents and capacity are beneficially spent in the dilution of the hot lava, and fructification of the hot ashes, of American character'.

We have a later picture of Norton lecturing on Dante by William Roscoe Thayer:

To read Dante with Norton was almost an act of worship. There was in his voice something wonderfully stirring and wholly incommunicable. As he reached a favourite passage his face became radiant and his tones more tender. He explained fully from every side, - verbal, textual, literary, spiritual. . . . He could compass the whole circle of the experience and the ideals of that world of which the Divine Comedy is the supreme expression in language.

Norton was also active as one of the founders of the Cambridge Dante Society; on Lowell's death he became its second president, retaining this post, and his enthusiastic interest in its affairs, till his death.

Norton's version of the Vita Nuova which, in its original form, was a kind of paraphrase, with both additions and omissions, was recast as a literal prose rendering, with the sonnets rhymed and the longer poems in blank verse, and published as a companion volume to Longfellow's Comedy. The prose has an archaic flavour which, as usual, divided the critics, E. J. Outler asking why, if he must adopt the style of an older period, he should not go back to the century before Chaucer, but W. D. Howells approving the choice, and commending Norton as 'literal with a difference'. What he meant by this last phrase we shall see presently when dealing with the Comedy. Meantime,

it will suffice to quote one of Norton's sonnets from this volume to show that, sensitive as he was to artistic expression, he had little poetic faculty of his own.

Beyond the sphere that widest orbit hath
Passeth the sigh which issues from my heart:
A new Intelligence doth Love impart
In tears to him, which leads him on his path.
When at the wished-for place his flight he stays,
A lady he beholds in honor dight,
Who so doth shine that through her splendid light
The pilgrim spirit upon her doth gaze.
He sees her such that his reporting words
To me are dark, his speech so subtile is
Unto the grieving heart which makes him tell.
But of that gentle one he speaks, I wis,
Since oft he Beatrice's name records;
Thus, ladies dear, I understand him well.

This can just hold its own with Plumptre (whose version is quoted in the appropriate article); it would be unfair to compare it with Rossetti, to whom Norton in his preface of 1867 paid generous tribute.

Nearly a quarter of a century had elapsed since the publication of Longfellow's Comedy when Norton issued his own prose version. The first volume bore a dedication to Lowell who, up till his death, had given assistance in the reading of the proofs, but strangely omits all reference to Longfellow. As Dr La Piana remarks, 'Norton had considerably changed his mind since the days of his passionate defence of Longfellow's poetical translation'. The Introduction of 1891 to the *Inferno* stresses the fact that 'the hexameter of the *Iliad* is not the hexameter of the *Aeneid*', and argues that, a fortiori, it is still more difficult to find an English equivalent for Dante's terza rima. While admitting that a prose rendering 'is at best as the dull plaster cast to the living marble or the breathing bronze', he feels that it is still the best means of communicating the substance of a poem which has 'such worth that it deserves to be known by readers who must read it in their own tongue or not at all'.

In this case the aim of the translator should be to render the substance fully, exactly, and with as close a correspondence to the tone and style of the original as is possible between prose and poetry.

The following further paragraphs from the Introduction are relevant to the critical discussion to ~~follow~~ ensue:

In English there is an excellent prose translation of the *Inferno*, by Dr John Carlyle, a man well known to the reader of his brother's correspondence. It was published forty years ago, but it is still contemporaneous enough in style to answer every need, and had Dr Carlyle made a version of the whole poem I should hardly have cared to attempt a new one. In my translation of the *Inferno* I am often Dr Carlyle's debtor. His conception of what a translation should be is very much the same as my own. Of the *Purgatorio* there is a prose version which has excellent qualities, by Mr W. S. Dugdale. Another version of great merit, of both the *Purgatorio* and *Paradise*, is that of Mr A. J. Butler. It is accompanied by a scholarly and valuable comment, and I owe much to Mr Butler's work. But through what seems to me occasional excess of literal fidelity his English is now and then somewhat crabbed.

I have tried to be as literal in my translation as was consistent with good English, and to render Dante's own words in words as nearly correspondent to them as the difference in the languages would permit. But it is to be remembered that the familiar uses and subtle associations which give to words their full meaning are never absolutely the same in two languages. Love in English not only sounds but is different from amor in Latin, or amore in Italian. Even the most felicitous prose translation must fail therefore at times to afford the entire and precise meaning of the original.

In the prefatory note to the revised edition of 1901, Norton has something more to say of his predecessors, and in particular of Longfellow.

In the work of revision, as originally in that of translation, I have sought assistance from the work of my predecessors in the same field, and I have not hesitated to borrow a felicitous word or phrase wherever I might find it.

I am thus indebted to the translations in verse of the whole poem by my late friends Mr Longfellow and Sir Frederick Pollock, and to the translations in prose of my friend the Hon. William Warren Vernon, and of Mr A. J. Butler, and also to the prose version of the *Inferno* by the late Dr John Carlyle, of the *Purgatorio* by Mr W. S. Dugdale, and of the *Paradise* by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed. But this list comprises a very small part of the works to which I am under obligation alike in the text and in the notes.

I have given, perhaps, as much time to the revision as to the original making of the translation. But a translator, in proportion to his competence, is likely to recognise the defects of his work, and

now, as I look over the pages of my book, I feel the desire to subject them to a fresh revision. But it is too late; I cannot expect to do more hereafter for the improvement of my work, than, possibly, to give it some final thumbnail touches.

In looking back over life I am not sorry to have devoted so much time to the study of Dante. It has been far more to me than merely an interesting literary occupation. It is especially associated in remembrance with two dear masters and friends, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and James Russell Lowell, and to their memory I dedicate these volumes.

It may clarify the discussion to record at this point the principal contemporary opinions of Norton's work. In America William Roscoe Thayer, writing at considerable length in two consecutive numbers of the Nation, found Norton's not only the best prose translation in English, but also superior to the verse renderings of Cary and Longfellow; 'and though we necessarily miss the charm of Dante's verses, we have in its stead the charm which belongs to excellent prose'. Moreover, while admitting the excellence of Carlyle's *Inferno*, he found Norton's 'invariably more concise, more exact, and no less lucid'. In fine, Norton 'has style and an extraordinary felicity of expression'.

William John Payne, in the Dial, while agreeing that Norton had 'measurably escaped the crabbedness that attends the over-literality of Butler's prose and of Longfellow's blank verse', and that his version was 'at once accurate and elegant', was progressively less enthusiastic as each part appeared, and summed up by saying that he preferred Butler's more literal to Norton's more graceful translation, on the ground that 'he who knows something of Italian - if ever so little - will find Butler more useful than Norton'.

In Britain the Athenaeum praised all three volumes in turn, with only a few critical remarks. The translation is described as 'excellent' and 'remarkable', said to have a 'literary flavour and balance superior to

Carlyle's'. In summing up at the end of the article on the *Paradise* the reviewer says: 'We heartily commend it as being readable in diction, elegant and terse in scholarship, and handy in form'. (The Athenaeum reviews appeared on 19th December 1891, pp. 831-2; 13th February 1892, pp. 212-3; 2nd July 1892, pp. 34.) We have already quoted the Saturday Review (19th March 1892, pp. 336-7) in the article on Butler; the reviewer deals with the latter's *Inferno* and Norton's *Purgatorio* together. He makes it clear that he considers Butler distinctly superior to Norton, of whom he says that he is 'correct, scholarly, nowise incompetent', but 'he still sticks somewhat in the letter', although 'on the whole he has done his task well'. Much later, when the revised edition appeared, the newly inaugurated Times Literary Supplement (29th August 1902) was mildly favourable.

The sensation of Norton's reception, however, was the volte-face performed by Paget Toynbee who reviewed the new prose version in the Academy. He was very complimentary in the article on the *Inferno* (13th February 1892, pp. 151-2).

Mr Norton gives us to understand that, in his opinion, a translation of Dante should try to be as literal as is consistent with good English, and to render the poet's own words ^{in words} as nearly correspondent to them as the differences in the languages will permit. We may state at once that, on the whole, Mr Norton seems to us to have succeeded admirably in conforming to this ideal in his own translation.

He thought too that Norton was better than Carlyle. It must be remembered that at this date Butler's *Inferno* had not yet been published, so that Toynbee could make no direct comparison of these two prose versions. When he wrote on the *Purgatorio* (23rd July 1892, p. 64) his second thoughts were rather startling.

We must confess to having read this second instalment of Mr Norton's prose version of the *Divine Comedy* with a certain feeling of disappointment. Mr Norton states that it has been his aim 'to be as literal as is consistent with good English'; and he partially justifies

his undertaking on the ground that the version of one at least of his predecessors - viz. Mr A. J. Butler - 'is somewhat crabbed through an occasional excess of literal fidelity'. As we have already pointed out in a former article, Mr Butler does not claim to have produced anything more than a 'crib' pure and simple. But we are bound to say, since Mr Norton challenges the comparison, that we find Mr Butler's 'crib', taken as a whole, at least as readable as Mr Norton's present volume.

In his translation of the *Inferno*, which we noticed a short time ago, Mr Norton undoubtedly at times reaches a high pitch of excellence. We are sorry to be unable to say the same of his version of the *Purgatorio*. It seems to us to be lacking in ease and rhythm, and to err, strangely enough, not unfrequently in being too literal, and, hence, awkward.

This is followed by an extract, *Purg.* VI.76-90 from Norton, and the same passage from Dugdale, with the remark that the former has only 'a feeble echo of the saeva indignatio' of the original; then comes the commendation of the latter's translation, already quoted in the article on Dugdale. The review concludes by remarking that 'apart from its shortcomings in the matter of English style - and it is from this standpoint alone that our judgment is unfavourable - Mr Norton's translation, besides being strictly accurate, has a special value of its own', namely that the translator had been able to use a more accurate text through having the advantage of recent research, particularly Moore's Textual Criticism.

It may be remarked, in connexion with this last sentence, that Norton had indeed made good use of the most recent textual criticism. Due acknowledgment to Moore is made in a note at the beginning of *Inferno*, and there are some references to his books in the footnotes, although Norton does not discuss textual problems or variant readings. He corrects nearly all the inferior readings and interpretations found in Longfellow, and is free from the lapses into inaccuracy noted in Butler.

To come to the all-important question of style, Toynbee's comparison of the two passages from Norton and Dugdale does not demonstrate anything

at all. The sentence which he picks out for criticism, 'that gentle soul was so ready, only at the sweet sound of his native land', is very nearly identical with that of Butler's 'crib'. Dugdale has 'that gentle spirit was so prompt, at the mere name of his dear native land'; while Butler reads 'that noble soul was thus ready, only for the sweet sound of its own country'. In the revised edition Norton, whether in deference to Toynbee or not, altered his wording to 'that noble soul was so ready, only at the sweet name of his native town'. It is very doubtful, however, whether Norton was not originally wise in following Longfellow's 'At the sweet sound of his own native land'. Dante's 'dolce suon della sua terra' implies the idea of the 'sound of the name'; we have to choose between one word and the other. Toynbee's contention that 'name' alone is better than 'sound' alone is hardly a valid one, especially if literal translation is aimed at. Toynbee, moreover, despite his great prestige as a connoisseur of the minutiae of Dante scholarship, cannot be accounted as an authority on literary style.

All the contemporary reviewers, in their anxiety to compare Norton's with the existing prose versions, missed what was really its central feature, a devotion to the method and manner of Longfellow. If the circumstances are remembered, this was very natural. Norton had, at the age of forty, been one of the poet's most ardent disciples, and a member of the small band who worked at the revision of the translation. Whole-heartedly approving of the system employed, he had doubtless himself helped to forge many of its lines; he had thought them over, weighed English words and phrases against Italian, chosen here and rejected there, advised for or against this and that - until probably the English of Longfellow had become as much a part of his thought as the Italian of Dante. When at the age of sixty he set himself to produce

his own version in prose, the English equivalents were already so familiar to him that he must have adopted many of them instinctively. That he coned the text with great care is evident; that he consulted other translations and did not hesitate to borrow from them is clear from internal evidence as well as from his own explicit statement. But he is never very far from Longfellow; sometimes indeed too near, for quite often the rhythm of blank verse predominates throughout a whole series of lines to the detriment of the translation as clear prose.

Norton is farther from Longfellow in the *Inferno* than in the other two cantiche for, once again by his own admission, he made considerable use of Carlyle. The subject of indebtedness is a complicated one, for Longfellow himself has many coincidences with Carlyle. A comparison of the passages from *Inf.* XXVI and *Purg.* II in Appendix I will show how close Norton keeps to Longfellow in the latter. It is probable too that since the publication of Longfellow's *Inferno* was hastened forward for the Dante centenary in 1865, Norton had taken less part in its revision than in the two later parts of the poem. Innumerable passages could be cited to illustrate the extent to which Norton founded on Longfellow. In Appendix II will be found two passages from each cantica in the versions of both Longfellow and Norton, and these supply ample evidence of the resemblances. For a comparison between the styles of Norton and Butler, the latter's version of the passage from *Par.* XXX is included in the article dealing with him; but an even better indication of the essential difference between the methods of the two translators may be obtained by comparing with Norton's rendering of *Purg.* XXVII. 70-90, given in Appendix II, Butler's of the same passage, which is as follows:

And before that in all its unmeasured parts the horizon was become of one aspect, and Night had her full distribution, each of us made of a stair a bed; for the nature of the mount broke up in us rather the power of ascending than the delight. As the goats ruminating become

quiet, who have been swift and wanton on the peaks before that they were fed, silent in the shade while that the Sun is hot, watched by the herdsman, who upon his staff has propped himself, and propped tends them; and as the shepherd, who lodges out of doors, passes the night in quiet beside his flock, watching that wild beast scatter it not; such were we all three then, I as the goat and they as shepherds, bound on this side and on that by a high rock. Little could there appear of the outside; but through that little I beheld the stars, both clearer and larger than their wont.

(Butler, 2nd ed., 1892)

Whatever may be the merits of Butler's version as a crib, it is completely lacking in that quality of style which pervades the work of Carlyle, Longfellow and Norton. It may well be that it was this very feature, more pronounced in the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* than in the *Inferno*, which repelled Toynbee. Yet Norton seems, with certain limitations, to have accomplished the difficult task of making his translation close enough to Dante to be a valuable aid to the student, and at the same time writing in a language worthy of his original, thanks, of course, in no small measure to the guidance afforded by Longfellow. For the most part Norton has got rid of the cumbrous Latinities to which the poet was addicted and, since he is not obliged to keep to a definite number of syllables, he avoids the occasional need for padding or omission. There is perhaps a further advantage in the fact that both Longfellow and Norton, while heirs to the long tradition of English literature, were at the same time conscious builders of a new tradition - that of New England, rather than of America in the wider sense. An earlier compatriot of theirs, who did not live to know Longfellow's Dante, but who possessed not a little of the verbal vigour and vividness of the Italian poet, writing of the impossibility of translating the classics, said: 'It is remarkable that no transcript of them has ever been made into any modern tongue, unless our civilisation itself may be regarded as such a transcript.' In a sense Longfellow and

Norton made just the kind of transcript of Dante that Thoreau is thinking of here. Through their efforts, of which translation was only one part, the sense and significance of Dante's poetry, his value in the widest meaning of the term, were incorporated in the New England tradition, and far from ending with them, it was to bear fruit for many years to come.

We have quoted one reviewer as remarking that Norton 'sticks somewhat in the letter'; his literalness has been censured, but it formed part of his purpose. Like all such translators he must now and then choose between being literal and obscure, and obtaining clarity by paraphrase. Usually he chooses the former, and we sometimes feel that the latter would have served his purpose better; less often, like Carlyle, he gives one version in the text and another in the notes. Thus 'to do their good, or to fly their harm' is doubtful English, although it represents 'a far lor pro o a fuggir lor danno' (Inf. II.110) veritably word for word. The same applies to 'Though this accursed folk never can attain to true perfection, it expects thereafter to be more than now' (Inf. VI.110-12). So also 'Is a new design changed in heaven?' = 'è mutato in ciel novo consiglio?' (Purg. I.47) is certainly too close to the letter. In Par. XIV.52-4 we have:

But even as a coal which gives forth flame, and by a vivid glow surpasses it, so that its own aspect is defended . . .

where either Longfellow's 'So that its own appearance it maintains' or Butler's 'so that its appearance is preserved' is superior.

Literal translation inevitably risks clumsiness, and at times Norton is clumsy to the extent of cacophony, but such lapses are rarer than in his rivals. Inf. XXI.25-30 is an interesting example. The first edition reads:

Then I turned as one who is slow to see what it behoves him to fly, and whom a sudden fear unnerves, and delays not to depart in order to see. And I saw behind us a black devil come running up along the crag.

When he revised it, he wisely decided to adopt the reading 'cui tarda' in line 25 and to place a different construction on 'per veder' in line 28, but in the course of making these improvements he ran the whole into one sentence, making it even flatter than before:

Then I turned as one who is in haste to see that from which it behoves him to fly, and whom a sudden fear dismays, and who for seeing delays not to depart, and I saw behind us a black devil come running up along the crag.

Such phrases as 'I want that Buoso should run' (Inf. XXV.140) or 'mine cannot be that this be denied to thee' (Purg. I.57) are reminiscent of the crabbedness that Norton deprecated in Butler. Sometimes the difficulty of balancing the various elements in an almost insoluble one. Purg. XVIII. 91-6 presents an awkward problem to any translator. Norton's first edition reads:

And such as was the rage and throng, which of old Ismenus and Asopus saw at night along their banks, in case the Thebans were in need of Bacchus, so, according to what I saw of them as they came, those who by good will and right love are ridden curve their steps along that circle.

Evidently feeling this unsatisfactory he recast it entirely in revision:

And such a fury and a throng as Ismenus and Asopus saw of old along their banks at night if but the Thebans were in need of Bacchus, such curves its way along that circle, according to what I saw, of those coming on whom good will and right love are riding.

Butler (who has a long note to defend his interpretation of 'falca') tries to make matters clearer by an addition:

And as Ismenus once saw, and Asopus, a fury and rout along their banks by night, only because the Thebans had need of Bacchus, just such (a rout) through that circle goes with a prancing, according to what I saw, of those coming whose rider is a good will and a just love.

Dugdale paraphrases still further; he always prefers clarity to clumsiness:

And as Ismenus and Asopus saw of old by night a furious trampling along their banks, because the Thebans needed Bacchus; such a crowd pursues its winding way along this circle as I saw of those spirits who are spurred on by good will and holy love.

Okey shows a little more subtlety:

And even as Ismenus and Asopus saw of old a fury and a rout along
their banks by night, if but the Thebans had need of Bacchus, such-
wise along that circle, quickening their pace, were coming, by what
I saw of them, those whom good will and just love bestride.

Several later translators have used a similar construction to Okey's, and some have departed even further from the Italian. While the degree of liberty permissible must be a matter of taste, we have to bear in mind the purpose which Butler and Norton had in view, which makes their treatment of such passages more justifiable than might appear at first reading. In this is conceded, then the superiority of Norton to Butler is exemplified here, and on many similar occasions, for he succeeds in preserving the terms and the force of the original comparison, 'quale . . . cotal (or tale) . . . '. By beginning 'As Ismenus saw . . . ', one awakens in the reader the expectation of something like 'so I saw . . . ' in the principal clause, and while no doubt the meaning is clear in Butler and even clearer in Dugdale or Okey, Norton alone keeps the true grammatical relation and gives a rendering which would enable a student to follow exactly the construction of the Italian, and incidentally that of a typical Dantean simile. The impression gathered from comparing many passages throughout Norton's work with those by other prose translators, is that he usually emerges creditably, and that he had a remarkably acute perception of the fundamental vigour of Dante's language.

Norton, mainly on account of his fidelity to Longfellow, allows an iambic rhythm to intrude too often, so that many passages read like blank verse. Examples of this will have been noticed in the quotations given, and there are quite a few in the passage from Purg. II given in Appendix I. These iambic pentameters are often detached lines, but occasionally they

persist throughout a *terzina* or more, e.g. Norton's *Purg.* VI.148-51 reads:

And if thou mind thee well and see the light, thou wilt see thyself
like that sick woman, who cannot find repose upon the feathers, but
with her tossing seeks to ease her pain,

where Longfellow has:

And if thou mind thee well, and see the light,
Thou shalt behold thyself like a sick woman,
Who cannot find repose upon her down,
But by her turning wardeth off her pain.

This feature of Norton's version will be found significant when we come to discuss more recent American translations in blank *terzine*.

Norton's notes are brief because, as he says in his Introduction, he 'desired to avoid distracting the attention of the reader from the narrative, and mainly left the understanding of it to his good sense and perspicacity'. It was no part of his plan to discuss controversial subjects or textual problems like Butler. What he has included in the notes is useful and well expressed. That he took as great care with these as with the text is evidenced by the extensive revisions and additions which he made in the second edition. The short essay prefixed to the first volume of each edition is also valuable.

It is hardly possible to read any translation of the *Divine Comedy* without improving one's knowledge of Dante, even if only from a realisation of the gap between it and the original. Norton's version, however, seems to make a positive contribution towards one's appreciation of the Italian, and to do so in a manner at once pleasant and unobtrusive.

and appointed him his literary executor. Shadwell was popular and respected in Oxford, and the

CHARLES LANCELOT SHADWELL

The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri (Purgatorio I-XXVII). An Experiment in Literal Verse Translation, by Charles Lancelot Shadwell, M.A., B.C.L., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. With an Introduction by Walter Pater, M.A., Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. London: Macmillan and Co., and New York. 1892. 8 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. xxviii, 411. Preface, pp. v-xii; Introduction, pp. xiii-xxviii; Italian and English text, printed on facing pages, pp. 2-411. There are no arguments, notes or other explanatory matter.

The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri. Part II. The Earthly Paradise (Cantos XXVIII-XXXIII). An Experiment in Literal Verse Translation, by Charles Lancelot Shadwell, D.C.L., of Oriel College, Oxford. With an Introduction by John Earle, M.A., LL.D., Prebendary of Wells, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1899. 8 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. cxxxviii, 100. Preface, pp. v-xi; Introduction, pp. xiii-cxxxviii; Italian and English text, printed on facing pages, pp. 2-97; errata for Vol. I, pp. 99-100.

The Paradise of Dante Alighieri. An Experiment in Literal Verse Translation, by Charles Lancelot Shadwell, D.C.L., late Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. With an Introduction by John William Mackail, LL.D., F.B.A., F.R.S.L., formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Macmillan and Co. Limited, St. Martin's Street, London. 1915. 8 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. xxxix, 509. Preface, p. v; Introduction, pp. vii-xxxix; Italian and English text, printed on facing pages, pp. 2-509.

Note. - These three volumes are uniformly and handsomely designed, printed on substantial toned antique laid paper, half title and title pages in two colours, bound in full white vellum blocked with symbolic designs.

Charles Lancelot Shadwell (1840-1919) was born in London and educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. He became a fellow of Oriel in 1864, and there he spent the rest of his active life, being lecturer in jurisprudence, 1865-75; treasurer, 1874-87; and Provost, 1905-14. He made notable contributions towards the history of the Oxford colleges, and among his hobbies are recorded chess and chronograms. He remained unmarried, and one of the main features of a studious life was his long and close friendship with Walter Pater, who dedicated his Renaissance Studies to Shadwell,

and appointed him his literary executor. Shadwell was popular and respected in Oxford, and the names of the men who wrote the Introductions for his three Dante volumes are a tribute to his standing.

When Shadwell's first translation of Dante was published in 1892 the long succession of terza rima versions of the Comedy had just begun to tail off, whereas activity in prose translations was increasing. The next decade was to produce a large number of what might be called experimental treatments of Dante's poem. There had been some earlier: Boyd's six-line stanzas were already a century old; the nondescript verse of Bannerman had long sunk into deserved oblivion; Parsons' quatrains had gained recognition as a serious and not entirely unsuccessful attempt to find a new medium for the Inferno; but the latest American contribution by Wilstach had no virtue save that of novelty. Shadwell's self-styled 'Experiment in Literal Translation' was completely new, and he prefixed it with an explanation and defence in which he made his points with commendable brevity and modesty. Even so, his preface is too long for quotation in full, and most of it must be summarised.

He begins by pointing out the difficulties and limitations associated with the usual modes of translating Dante into prose, blank verse or terza rima. Rhyme, he thinks, is essential, but he gives the familiar reasons for thinking that the obstacles to the use of triple rhyme in English are insuperable. Then he announces:

In the translation here published, the metre chosen is that used by Andrew Marvell in his well-known Horatian Ode to Cromwell.

There follows a justification of a choice which he realised would cause some astonishment, under four headings:

- (1) It provides a sequence of stanzas, corresponding to the *terzine* of the original, which can at will be kept separate or run into each other.

- (2) Its sense capacity, 28 English syllables against 33 Italian, is almost exactly right.
- (3) The second couplet of the stanza is well adapted for introducing a parenthetic statement of any kind, which is a use to which Dante frequently puts the last line of a *terzina*; some examples of this are given.
- (4) There is a resemblance between the language of the two poets, who both produce great effects by the use of very simple and homely words; and are also alike in that they employ, on occasion, expressions outside the ordinary poetic vocabulary, as well as images and ideas which belong to learning and science.

The preface ends with an explanation of the reason for terminating the translation at canto XXVII: the concluding six cantos constitute, from several points of view, a distinct section of the poem.

At the end of the Introduction Pater, who had seen the translation 'from time to time during its growth', adds a few words of approval on the choice. He feels that the metre selected 'strikes the note of a dignified plain-song, capable however on demand of a high degree of expressiveness'. 'Nothing quite like this has yet been done for presenting Dante in English.' 'His translator, following him with humble scholarly purpose, has really trod in his steps; rising and falling with him, if so it be.' And later he says that Shadwell's 'reproduction of a poem full certainly of "the patience of genius" is itself a work of rare patience and scholarship, conspicuously free from "the haste / By which all action is disgraced".' In the preface to the 1899 volume Shadwell professed himself, in spite of some adverse criticisms, still satisfied with his choice; Earle's Introduction makes no mention of the translation at all. When the *Paradiso* appeared in 1915 the translator's preface was restricted to a few lines of acknowledgments, but Professor J. W. Mackail made some pleasant remarks in his Introduction.

The merits of this particular metrical form are great. It has now been shown to bear surprisingly well the test of continuous work on a large scale; and with the skilful management that has been applied to it, it gives, in the judgment of the present writer, a striking approximation to the colour and movement of the original.

Even the most hostile critic, and there were many, admitted that Shadwell's version was a brilliant tour de force, if nothing more. It presents the paradox of a metrical choice which would probably have been dismissed as ludicrous by most students of poetry on its first mention, and which in sober earnest seems doomed to certain failure, achieving a reproduction of content and form which reaches an astonishing degree of success. This has been borne out by recent personal experience. The experiment has been tried of asking a number of reasonably competent judges what they thought of the idea of rendering the Divine Comedy in Marvellian stanzas, then asking them to read some extracts from Shadwell. In almost every case the choice of form was regarded as little less than lunacy, but this reaction was followed by a contrary one. Even those who condemned the result as a translation of Dante admitted that it possessed unexpected charm; and many expressed amazement at the degree of accuracy and the poetic quality attained.

The work must have been one of 'rare patience' as Pater says, for in spite of inevitable weakening and a few lapses, Shadwell succeeded in fitting a genuinely literal rendering of Dante's *terzine* into his stanzas. In this task, apart from his 'infinite capacity for taking pains', he was aided by two features of his metre: first, although he had to find four rhymes to Dante's three, they were not a triplet but two pairs; and second, they were confined to a single stanza. The latter fact is a very great advantage. Besides finding three rhyming words the translator in *terza rima* has to be continually looking both back and forward; he is always dealing with two, often three, *terzine* at one time. With no interlocking

rhyme common to two stanzas, each can be hammered into shape separately, and the heart-breaking compromises of triple rhyme avoided. In practice Shadwell's second and third reasons for his choice are of minor importance. His 28 syllables give him little advantage over the user of iambic pentameter working with 30; and his argument about the parenthetical statement is not much sounder than Aristophanes' demonstration that *ληκύθειον ἀπώλεσε* can be inserted in the first few lines of any prologue by Euripides. In any case, Shadwell by no means always avails himself of this alleged convenience; indeed one of the examples given in his preface is the Italian of Purg. VIII.6, 'che paia il giorno pianger che si muore', which he spoils in his English text just through failure to use the couplet for it.

Then, if he hear the distant bell,
That seems the dying day to knell,
Its sound hath power to move
The new-bound pilgrim's love.

The unexpressed converse of Shadwell's third proposition is regrettably true, however; where the roll or sweep of the *terzine* culminates majestically in the last line his couplet fails completely, and the contrast of the two cases is well illustrated by Purg. XV.67-72:

The untold, unbounded good above
Runs to combine itself with love,
Even as the sunbeam's light
Is drawn to bodies bright.
It renders warmth to warmth, whereby
The fervour of our charity
Is to its fullest measure
Increased from heavenly treasure.

In the former of these stanzas the second couplet deals adequately with 'com' a lucido corpo raggio vene', but in the latter the majestic climax of 'cresce sovr' essa l'eterno valore' has vanished.

Likewise, Shadwell's fourth proposition about the similarity in language between the two poets is limited in its application. When the

effect requires neatness and precision the Marvellian couplets can often supply it admirably, e.g.

Yea, let him count all changing vain,
Except the thing he gives contain
The thing he owed before,
As six containeth four.

(Par. V.58-60)

Thy part 'twas not to stoop thy wings,
And court the breath of lightsome things,
The glance of girlish eye,
Or like brief vanity.
The second onset and the third
The nestling waits: for full-fledged bird
In vain the net is spread,
In vain the shaft is sped.

(Purg. XXXI.58-63)

But if we pass on to the close of the last-mentioned canto, we find Shadwell's measure completely defeated by the ecstasy of lines 139-43, although he uses three stanzas to reproduce them.

O thou refulgent splendour bright
Of living and eternal light,
Who, through Parnassus' shade
His cheek had pallid made,
Yea, though he tasted of its stream,
Would not with mind beclouded seem,
If he essayed to show
The fulness of thy glow,
As in that place to me 'twas given,
Set to the harmony of heaven,
When I beheld thee clear,
Loosed in the open air?

It is true that Marvell displays something akin to Dante's amazing versatility, and that not infrequently he gets his effects in the same way by the way in which he uses unconventional material, but the formal element is in command in the stanza form of the Cromwell Ode; the artificial division into stanzas, in which the second half is severely disciplined by its very short syllable content, imposes limitations not operative in say 'To his Coy Mistress', where the continuous octosyllables increase both the scope and the variety of the expression.

Shadwell's failure in passages such as the last quoted above is referred to by Professor Bickersteth in his pamphlet On Translating Dante, and attributed to the same cause as that of Auchmuty's octosyllables: the short lines simply do not give room for the reproduction of Dante's varied effects. Pater remarked that he thought Shadwell 'not least successful in the speculative or philosophic passages', which echoes our previous remarks. As soon as the blend of sound and sense becomes vital, the defects of Shadwell's metre become obvious. Compare for instance his version of Purg. XIX.19-24 with the original.

'I am' she sang 'the Siren sweet,
Who on mid sea the mariners meet,
And charm them with my measure,
That fills them all with pleasure:
Ulysses from his wandering track
I drew: right seldom turns he back,
Who once with me did dwell,
So potent is my spell.

In the Italian it is the lingering cadence of 'che' marinari in mezzo mar dismago' . . . 'si tutto l'appago' that gives the passage its quality, whereas in Shadwell it tends to become a jingle. One of his worst failures in this kind is Par. XIV.28-30, which has been well reproduced by several translators in terza rima, and which he expands to two stanzas:

The one and two and three that never
From three and two and one may sever,
But all together stay,
To live and reign for aye;
By limit ne'er may they be bounded,
Nor by aught other be surrounded:
Yea but about they fall,
And circumscribe it all.

Here the jingle is intensified by the use of feminine rhymes, the recurrence of which at short intervals frequently detracts from the dignity of the stanza, e.g. (Par. XXXIII.70-2):

And send one sparkle of Thy glory,
To aid me tell the wondrous story;
And yet leave some behind
To those of after kind.

The rapid movement of the short line does not suit Purg. III.79-84:

As from the pen forth issuing creep
One, two, and three, the timid sheep;
With eyes and muzzle pressed
To earthward stand the rest;
As doth the first, the others do;
And if one pauseth, they pause too,
Huddling, they know not why,
In mute simplicity.

(Purg. XXX.103-11)

(Par. XI.104-5)

Connected with this aspect is the need for the use of short words in preference to longer and more sonorous ones to fit the compass of the line. This often means a cluster of monosyllables and a succession of strong stresses which spoils the metre. A line like 'Whence the big air in rain came down' (= 'si che 'l pregno aere in acqua si converse', Purg. V.118) cannot be read slowly enough to give the words their value. Similar instances are: 'clean from the world's foul darkness growing' (= 'purgando la caligine del mondo', Purg. XI.30); 'Then close as in guide's track, I saw' (Purg. XXIX.64); and (Purg. XXX.103-5):

Ye, watching through th' eternal day,
Nor night nor sleep let filch away
From you one foot-pace trod
By Time upon his road.

In spite of the advantage conferred by the independence of the stanzas, Shadwell is not immune from the troubles that beset all translators in rhyme. His line-endings are at times a pis aller, as in Purg. XXI.40-2:

That other then began: 'This mound
Such holy rule doth compass round,
Nought can it feel, but will
Keep wont and order still.

Strange expedients must sometimes be adopted, e.g. in Par. XXXII.48, where 'se tu li guardi bene e se li ascolti' is rendered 'If near them thou shalt

walk, / And listen to their talk', the verb 'walk' being singularly inept in the circumstances. At times very awkward constructions are needed to fit sense to metre, e.g.

Wrought not alone those circles wide,
That for each seed some end provide,
As on its way 'twill fare,
Companioned by its star.

(Purg. XXX.109-11)

Tiber and Arno's streams betwixt,
On rocky ridge by Christ was fixed
That final seal, whose sore
For two long years he bore.

(Par. XI.106-8)

Occasionally the sense is crowded out, as in Purg. I.58 where 'Questi non vide mai l'ultima sera' becomes 'This one not yet sees evening die'. A combination of several desperate shifts gives us such an inappropriate version of a fine *terzina* as Par. VI.76-8:

Still Cleopatra sadly rues
His hot pursuit, which bade her choose
In asp's embrace to meet
Death hasty and unsweet.

The stanza itself is not to blame here, for the kind of effect desired is admirably exemplified in Marvell's own poem, for instance in the lines beginning 'Then burning through the air he went', but its limitations added to the necessity for preserving approximately Dante's words preclude a translator from using it as an original poet can.

Normally there is not much room in Shadwell's 28 syllables for padding, but as we have seen he is sometimes forced to use two stanzas to represent one *terzina*. Very occasionally he spreads the sense of two *terzine* over three stanzas, but as a rule where expansion is required he makes three of Dante's lines into eight of his own, so preserving the individuality of the stanzas coming before and after. About twenty of these added stanzas occur in the *Purgatorio*, and about double that number in the *Paradiso*, canto IX containing as many as five. Thus the three

lines of Par. II.73-5 are eked out to:

Next, if the cause of darkness, sought
Of thee, by rarity were wrought,
Then must this planet choose
One of two ways to use:
Either, in certain parts of it,
'Twill hungered be, and must submit,
Empty or matter there,
To lie all void and bare.

In this connexion a difficulty arises at the end of every canto: either the last four lines must be compressed into one of Shadwell's stanzas or expanded into two, and this has the unfortunate effect of almost invariably weakening his closing lines. On the whole he prefers compression; Purg. XIX.142-5 gives an example of the baldness which this can produce:

Alagia my good niece is still
Yonder, so turn she not to ill
After our evil line:
And she is all of mine.

Sometimes the expanded form is skilfully managed, as in Par. XIII.139-42:

Dame Joan and Goodman Giles, be wise:
Judge not, although before your eyes
This one to thieving take,
And that due offering make:
Not unto you 'tis given to scan
The secret of God's purposed plan:
Who rose may fall, and he
Who fell may pardoned be.

As we should expect from so accomplished a scholar Shadwell's literal accuracy maintains a high level; and apart from cases of weakening or obscurity due to the exigencies of metre, only a few errors have been noted, all trivial. A few interpretations are almost certainly wrong, e.g. 'so his tale be true' (= 'com' e' dicea', Purg. VI.21); 'yet lost am I, / Who grieve for thee, my mother, / More than for any other' (Purg. XVII.37-9); 'Asked of her eyes no more to know' (= 'sanza delli occhi aver più conoscenza' Purg. XXX.37).

The translation contains one or two curiosities. Arnaut Daniel's speech (Purg. XXVI.140-7) is not only kept in Provençal, but with great ingenuity coaxed into Marvellian stanzas, the last of which runs:

Vos prec per la valor, la quale
Guida vos al som delle scale,
Sovenhavos ancor
A temps de ma dolor.

Shadwell is more than equal to the demands of Dante's macaronic passages, for in Par. XVIII.91-3 he goes one better by providing a Latin rhyme of his own:

Diligite iustitiam
Were the first verb and noun that came,
Qui iudicatis terram
Was latest ubi eram.

His masterpiece is at the close of this same canto:

Well mayst thou say 'To him I turn,
For him my fervent longings burn,
Who sought the desert lone
And chose it for his own,
Yea! and to martyrdom was sent,
The dancer maiden to content:
Him I desire, that so
Fisher nor Pool I know.'

The pun, we feel, would have brought a grim smile to Dante's face; there is no parallel handling of the passage till we come to the 'Fisher Pete' of Louis How, which is quoted in its appropriate place. A less favourable example of Shadwell's ingenuity is seen in his attempt to render the triple rhyme, 'vidi - vidi - vidi' of Par. XXX.94-9:

Even so the flowers, the sparks I saw
With fuller joy together draw,
So that 'twas granted me
Both Courts of Heaven to see.
Splendour of God, wherethrough I saw
The Triumph of the kingdom's law:
Grant me thereto to draw,
And tell what there I saw.

He does not attempt to reproduce the 'Cristo' rhymes, but he gets in the

triple 'per ammda' of Purg. XX, and does ample justice to the acrostic of Purg. XII and the symmetrical passages of Par. XIX and XX.

To show Shadwell at his best, we quote below one or two short passages in which he is moderately successful.

Content ye, mortals, that 'tis so:
Had it been yours the whole to know,
No need there were on earth
For Mary to give birth.
Such saw ye fruitlessly aspire,
Who else had rest from their desire,
Desire that for their pain
Eternal doth remain. (Purg. III.37-42)

What work of master's pencil e'er
Could with those shades, those lines compare,
Which graven on that ground
Would subtlest sense confound?
Alive the living, dead the dead,
Seemed as I trod with lowered head:
E'en truth itself could shew
No more than there I knew. (Purg. XII.64-9)

Then four I saw, in humble gown,
And last an ancient one, alone;
Asleep, yet while he slept,
His face its vigil kept. (Purg. XXIX.142-4)

I was as one who to his thought
Would fain recall a dream forgot,
Toiling, but all in vain,
To win it back again. (Par. XXIII.49-51)

Then shalt thou prove how salt the bread
From others' hand; how hard to tread
The stairs that up and down
Lead but to doors unknown. (Par. XVII.58-60)

As one who dreams, and when 'tis o'er,
The dream returns to him no more,
While still within his breast
Remains the thought impressed,
So 'tis with me: that vision will
Though all but spent, yet trickle still;
Nor ever from my heart
Its sweetness may depart.
'Tis thus the Sun unseals the snow;
Thus in the wind the light leaves blow;
Thus was the Sibyl's lore
Scattered for evermore. (Par. XXXIII.58-66)

Press comments on Shadwell's translation were varied. A most eulogistic article by Arthur Galton appeared in the Academy (25th March 1893, pp. 258-9).

He thought that

. . . the fine strokes of Dante, his gravity, his royal march, are faithfully repeated; and if the music be not precisely Dante's, yet Mr Shadwell has composed an English poem that is harmonious and solemn.

He besought readers not to judge it too hastily:

The more carefully his version be pondered in detail, the more scholarly and exquisite it will appear. . . . He must be read as a whole, a canto at a time, with Dante's thought in the reader's memory; and then it will be borne in upon the reader, first, how truly the thought has been rendered, how delicately the meaning has been seized; next, how careful and scholarly is the workmanship; and lastly, how grave and sweet is the metre in Mr Shadwell's hands, how well suited to Dante, in spite of its unpromising appearance.

The Saturday Review (28th January 1893, pp. 105-6) agreed that the translation was 'remarkably close, very intelligible and by no means inelegant'; but, after enumerating Shadwell's arguments in favour of his metre, opined:

But if every one were true, the whole would not suffice to justify a selection which we confess at first amazed us, which we strove to regard with a double portion of goodwill accordingly, and which, after making every allowance and every effort, we can but pronounce to be an utter failure regarded as a vehicle for the entire poem.

The Athenaeum (21st January 1893, pp. 79-80) had little to say in Shadwell's favour, remarking: 'We cannot but regard this as a singular instance of perversity in the field of translation.' Later, when the next volume was published (27th May 1899, pp. 652-3) the same opinion was repeated: 'The metre, indeed, becomes even less tolerable on further acquaintance.' By the time the *Paradiso* appeared, it was dealt with by a different reviewer who, making no reference to the previous volumes, wrote (4th September 1915, pp. 156-7) that 'he handles his metre with consummate skill', but felt the measure 'suited to action rather than contemplation', and found that the interlocking of the *terzine* was missed. An early issue of the

Times Literary Supplement (29th August 1902) gave a side-glance at Shadwell in the course of an article on Norton; it found the former's version

. . . the work of a ripe scholar with a subtle sense of language, though it may not give the flowing quality of the terza rima, yet reproduces with singular success the concise and austere simplicity and the felicity of phrase which are so characteristic of Dante's poem.

An article appeared in the Bookman (March 1893, pp. 185-6) dealing with the first volume. After admitting that it exhibits 'word-craft, technical skill, watchfulness, sharp judgment', quoting with excellent judgment two felicitous passages, and describing the translation as 'a scholarly, nay a masterly performance', the writer continues:

I cannot go on reading this metre aloud with any effect of poetry. . . . In fact, it lends itself to the schoolboy's monotonous gabble after a page or two. . . . I cannot make this Marvell metre flow.

And he concludes with the opinion that after all a prose translation is best if studied in conjunction with the Italian.

These views, apparently so contradictory, owe their variations chiefly to a difference of emphasis. The idea of making a translation in such a form is so novel that it is easy either to under- or overrate the result; to remain aggrieved at the perversity of the attempt, or to be moved to admire the patience and ingenuity with which it is carried out. Galton, in the Academy, addresses the reader already familiar with Dante, who will certainly be appreciative of some of the points made; but such a reader stands in no need of a translation, and can only admire Shadwell as a tour de force. The learner may be helped by the literality of Shadwell's rendering in his study of the Italian text opposite, but he would be helped much more by an annotated prose version. If we forget about the Italian and suppose that Shadwell's poem is for the benefit of those who will never read the original, can it be seriously suggested that it conveys

any adequate notion of how Dante wrote? After bestowing all the praise we justly can on Shadwell's scholarship, ability and perseverance, which deserve genuine admiration, we are forced in the end to agree with the last reviewer quoted and admit that it is impossible to 'make this Marvell metre flow'. While we are working, as it were, from the Italian back to the English, we remark with surprise how well Shadwell has managed to preserve some of the features of the former; we recognise so to speak the reflections of Dante which he has caught. But if we ask ourselves, in sober earnest, just how much of the original image could be reconstructed from the reflections alone, the partial nature of Shadwell's success will be evident.

Shadwell was born in 1810, at the Portora Royal School, Enniskillen, then at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took a first in classics and was Chancellor's prizeman in Latin verses. He followed his father's profession, and was admitted to King's Inns, Dublin, as a barrister in 1879, and to the Middle Temple in 1888. He succeeded his father as second baronet in 1885, and remained unmarried. He was interested both in literature and in books, and was one of the most accomplished of amateur bookbinders, a fact to which his magnificent edition of the Book of Kells in 1914 testifies. He edited Tales from Scott and Book Wesley's Memoirs, and did other occasional writing.

The short preface to his *Inferno* is dated from 33 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin, 1893. It is evident that Sullivan set out to make a translation that would be an improvement on all existing ones, for he writes as follows:

The following rendering is an attempt to put Dante's immortal Comedy before English readers in a form which - allowing for differences of idiom - accurately represents the original, without entirely sacrificing the poetical spirit which is so marked a characteristic of the work.

The prose versions which have hitherto been published - though few in number - seem to have been framed rather as a help to students

SIR EDWARD SULLIVAN (Bart.)

The Comedy of Dante Alighieri rendered into English by Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart. Hell. London: Elliot Stock, sixty-two Paternoster Row. In the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three. 8 by 5½ in., pp. ix, 180. Preface, pp. vii-ix; English text, printed in continuous prose, divided into paragraphs, with a few brief footnotes (no arguments), pp. 1-180.

An identical reprint of the above volume, bound in paper covers, with the description 'Cheaper Edition' on title page, was issued by the same publishers in 1895.

Edward Sullivan (1852-1928) was the son of Sir Edward Sullivan, first baronet, one of the most eminent of Irish Lord Chancellors, and Bessie Josephine Bailey. Born in Ireland, he was educated at the Portora Royal School, Enniskillen, then at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took a first in classics and was Chancellor's prizeman in Latin verse. He followed his father's profession, and was admitted to King's Inns, Dublin, as a barrister in 1879, and to the Middle Temple in 1888. He succeeded his father as second baronet in 1885, and remained unmarried. He was interested both in literature and in books, and was one of the most accomplished of amateur bookbinders, a fact to which his magnificent edition of the Book of Kells in 1914 testifies. He edited Tales from Scott and Buck Whaley's Memoirs, and did other occasional writing.

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The prose versions which have hitherto been published - though few in number - seem to have been framed rather as a help to students

of the Italian text, than with a view to give the English reader any insight of a connected kind into Dante's Poem. I know of no prose rendering in our language which is throughout intelligible without the aid of the original text. The best of them by far - John Carlyle's *Inferno* - rises, no doubt, at times above the level of a 'crib'; but, taken as a whole it possesses, in common with the others, the fault to which I have referred.

Touching the many metrical versions with which we are familiar, I would only wish to say, that I am of those who think that no rendering of the Comedy into English verse can give even the most shadowy idea of the old Italian Poem. The terza rima of the original is impossible without its leading feature, the double ending; and the disyllabic rhymes in our language are not sufficiently numerous for a serious work of so great a length. Byron, too, has shown us, in his *Don Juan*, that this particular form of ending is more adapted to the lines of a work of a lighter kind.

I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to couch my translation in the simple and solemn language with which all readers of our Bible have been long familiar. Its archaic style would appear, for obvious reasons, to be peculiarly appropriate to the rendering of such a work as Dante's masterpiece; for, while prose in form, it seems to suggest, rather than to repel, the introduction of expressions of a poetical character.

Although the wording of the preface seems to indicate that the volume was the first instalment of a complete Comedy, no further parts appeared.

The prose versions in existence when Sullivan wrote his preface in 1893 were, besides Carlyle, only five in number: the worthless Comedy of O'Donnell, Dugdale's *Purgatorio*, the complete Comedies of Butler and Norton, and the literal rendering of *Purgatorio* included in Vernon's *Readings*. Of these, Norton's volumes were published during 1891-2, while Butler's *Inferno* did not appear till 1892. It is quite possible that Sullivan was already at work before these books were published, but no doubt he was acquainted with them all by 1893. Leaving O'Donnell out of account, all the others professedly aimed at literality, and all except Norton's were printed alongside the Italian text. Sullivan seems to have aimed at making a version which should be accurate and at the same time have some literary value as English prose; but he also appears to think that he reproduces some

quality of the original which the others have missed. He tries to avoid 'entirely sacrificing the poetical spirit'; by implication his translation is to give more than 'the most shadowy idea of the old Italian Poem', and is to provide an 'insight of a connected kind into Dante's Poem'. The meaning of the last phrase is by no means clear, but the idea probably is that too much detailed attention to reproducing the exact words of the original may detract from appreciation of its total effect and value. His prologue, however, is too brief and slight to take us far. The sweeping statement about metrical versions is unexplained and unsupported, the remarks about double endings being merely a red herring. The final paragraph quoted appears to mean that his language is modelled on that of the Authorised Version, and we are therefore to expect vocabulary and syntax to show marked archaism.

On some general aspects of this theory we shall say more later; meanwhile we are reminded of an article in Punch some thirty-odd years ago. An eccentric dowager had tried to revive 'ye olde tyme' glories of Bath by dressing in a long obsolete fashion and having herself carried round in a sedan chair. To heighten the effect she decided to adapt her speech to match but, says the writer, 'she mixed her centuries', for she was heard to address the chairmen: 'Marry, come up, varlets! Odds-bodikins, 'tis a plaguy cold morning!' The ability to relish the flavour of Jacobean English by no means infers the skill to reproduce it. We have already noted the Biblical reminiscences of Carlyle's version, but these are a reflection of background rather than a deliberate attempt at imitation. On Wicksteed's carefully studied archaisms we shall have something to say in due course. In Sullivan we find a kind of synthetic idiom, occasionally impressive, frequently clumsy, oftener than not conveying a faintly ridiculous sense of pastiche. (XIV. 79-80)

The third personal singular of the present ends in '-th' throughout,

cometh forth, the sinful women share amongst them'. At XII. 27 'alle bel San

except that, presumably in the interests of euphony, we are spared 'batheth'. Equally persistent is the use of 'when that', 'after that', 'for that' as conjunctions instead of 'when', 'after', 'because', an irritating and quite unjustifiable usage. Expressions like 'or ever', 'erewhile' and 'an' \bar{O} 'if' occur consistently. There is the familiar quota of antiquated words like 'drave', 'damosel', 'wot', etc. We have direct quotations from the Bible, e.g. 'alle segrete cose' (III.21) is rendered 'the things man hath not seen'. There are quotations from other sources, e.g. XIX.57, 'e poi di farne strazio' is translated 'and then to labour in her wreck', with a footnote referring to 'labour'd in their country's wrack' in Act I of Macbeth. For the most part, however, the archaism is of the artificial kind, written into the material without regard to the tone of the original, and often resulting in weakening. Examples are: 'that on high she softeneth to relenting the judgment that yieldeth not' (= 'si che duro giudizio là su frange', II.96); 'whoever loitereth, him smiteth he with his oar' (= 'batte col remo qualunque s'adagia', III.111); 'but none the more for that shall any of us again array himself therewith' (= 'ma non però ch'alcuna sen rivesta', XIII.104); 'but keep them ever close anigh the thicket' (= 'ma sempre al bosco tien li piedi stretti', XIV.75); 'so may thy soul for many days hold o'er thy limbs its governance' (= 'se lungamente l'anima conduca / le membra tue', XVI.64-5); 'for that I stole from out the sacristy its goodly garniture' (= 'perch'io fui / ladro alla sagrestia de' belli arredi', XXIV.137-8); 'Let not thy thoughts from this time forth be troubled about him' (= 'non si franga / lo tuo pensier da qui innanzi sovr'ello', XXIX.22-3). At times this becomes rather fatuous; for instance it is difficult to see why 'Quale del Bulicame esce ruscello / che parton poi tra lor le peccatrici' (XIV.79-80) should become 'As the rivulet cometh forth from Bulicame, which, as it cometh forth, the sinful women share amongst them'. At XIX.17 'mio bel San

Giovanni' is changed to 'my San Giovanni's stately dome'. Juxtaposition of old and new spoils the effect in 'unburden thee of all depression' (XXX.144) or 'I do believe that thou art fooling me' (XXXIII.139). Sometimes the passion for archaism outruns discretion, and we get a piece of tautology like 'I would fain have gladly gone some other way' (XXXI.141); and what meaning are we to attach to Virgil's bidding 'look, and pass away' (III.51)? Occasionally there is an extreme baldness which is in contrast to the prevailing elaboration: surely Sullivan's 'O ever-wearying robe' is a poor effort at rendering 'Oh in eterno faticoso manto'.

The tendency to iambic rhythm is a danger in all stylised prose, and it is very marked in Sullivan. Sometimes twelve or fifteen consecutive lines fall into blank verse, like (XVI.118-20):

Ah me! how cautious should men be with those
who do not look upon the deed alone,
but with the mind's eye peer into the thoughts!

and there is seldom a portion of any length where several lines of blank verse do not occur. There are examples also of stranger rhythms, such as that in II.133-5:

O clothed with pity she, that came to succour me!
And gracious thou, that didst give heed to speedily
unto the words of truth that she addressed to thee!

Sullivan's accuracy is spoiled to some extent by his persistent over-elaboration which often obscures the force and ^memphasis of the Italian. There are also frequent departures from the meaning of the text that seem to have no justification. In canto IX, for instance, we find an assortment of these inaccuracies. 'Whose only punishment is hopeless hope' (line 18) is a very strange expression; ^{also used by Johnston} 'to rescue a spirit from the circle of Judas' (line 27) raises unwanted questions about Erichtho's object; 'he made signal to me to stand unmoved, and bow myself before him' (line 86-7) is merely

absurd through a bad choice of word to render 'queto'; 'cominciò elli in su l'orribil soglia' (line 92) is wrongly translated 'begun he, as he crossed the loathsome threshold'; and why should 'sicuri appresso le parole sante' become 'cheered by the holy words'? The same kind of wresting of the sense occurs in X.57, 'e poi che il sospecciar fu tutto spento', which becomes 'but after that its suspicions were wholly set at rest'. There are many other odd word choices, e.g. XXXIII.22, 'breve pertugio dentro della muda' is rendered 'A tiny chink in the narrow street'. The six lines, XXXIV.127-32, are included in Virgil's speech; this of course may be a misprint.

Discounting these defects of execution, it is difficult to see what purpose the translation was meant to serve, or why it should be supposed to give an 'insight of a connected kind into Dante's Poem'. Success in reproducing a whole depends to a large extent on the fidelity with which the parts are constructed. Whatever its defects, Carlyle's *Inferno* is a great deal more likely to convey a 'shadowy idea' of the original than Sullivan's, and the idiom of the latter is even more misleading than Cary's as an indication of the kind of language in which Dante wrote.

Press comments on Sullivan's volume varied. The Spectator (23rd December 1893, p. 921) thought that it read well and had a 'dignified flow of well-balanced language'. The Saturday Review (6th January 1894, p. 18) disapproved of Sullivan's references to his predecessors in the preface, and pointed out some of his stylistic defects, concluding with the cryptic sentence that 'taking the work on its own merits we are glad to give it a welcome'. The Athenaeum (1st July 1893, p. 33) detected the fallacy underlying Sullivan's method, remarking: 'Sir Edward's avowed endeavour is to use biblical language; we do not perceive that he has realised that endeavour in any marked degree', and summed up his effort as 'well-meant but

the reverse of successful'. The last phrase is a fair criticism. The version has no features that make it worthy of permanence; it has long been forgotten and may well be allowed to remain so.

Dante's Inferno, a version in the Spenserian stanza, by George Managrove, with notes and illustrations by John D. Salter. Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 75 by 5 1/2 in., pp. xxx, 287. Editorial note (by E. A. Parker), p. vii; preface to the first edition, pp. ix-xi; narrative table of contents, pp. xi-xiii; list of illustrations, pp. xiii-xiv; brief chronological table of the age of Dante, pp. xv-xviii; table of the three kinds of sin, etc., p. xix; table of the cantos, etc., p. xxi; English text, printed in stanzas, without arguments or notes, pp. 1-276; index, pp. 277-87.

George Managrove (1858-1912) was the third son of John Managrove of Whitelaw, and later of Wandale Hall, Cheshire. He entered St. John's College, Oxford, in 1878, taking his B.A. in 1879 and M.A. in 1881. In 1879 he was entered as a student at the Middle Temple, and was called to the bar in 1881. He is recorded as a practising barrister in *Who's Who at the Bar*, but we have no details of his legal career. In his *Editorial Note* to the posthumous edition of 1934, E. A. Parker tells us that the translator's intention, expressed in the original preface, of completing the *Comedy* had to be abandoned owing to persistent ill health, followed in later years with blindness. This also interrupted the final revision of the *Inferno*, which at the time of his death had only reached the early part of canto vi. He left, however, notes and memoranda, from which Parker corrected the remainder, introducing such changes as he felt to be an improvement on the earlier version. The revision was very con-

GEORGE MUSGRAVE

Dante's Divine Comedy, consisting of the Inferno, Purgatorio & Paradiso. A Version in the nine-line metre of Spenser by George Musgrave, M.A., St. John's College, Oxford, & Barrister-at-Law. The Inferno or Hell. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1893. Crown octavo, pp. xxiv, 247. Preface, pp. v-vi; narrative table of contents, pp. vii-xviii; brief chronological table of the age of Dante, pp. xix-xxii; plan of the divisions of Hell (diagram), facing p. xxiii; table of the three kinds of sin, etc., p. xxiii; table of the custodians, etc., p. xxiv; English text, printed in stanzas, without arguments or notes, pp. 1-234; index, pp. 235-47.

Dante's Inferno. A version in the Spenserian stanza, by George Musgrave, with forty-four illustrations by John D. Batten. Oxford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1933. 7½ by 5½ in., pp. xxx, 287. Editorial note (by E. A. Parker), p. vii; preface to the first edition, pp. ix-x; narrative table of contents, pp. xi-xxii; list of illustrations, pp. xxiii-xxiv; brief chronological table of the age of Dante, pp. xxv-xxviii; table of the three kinds of sin, etc., p. xxix; table of the custodians, etc., p. xxx; English text, printed in stanzas, without arguments or notes, pp. 1-276; index, pp. 277-87.

George Musgrave (1855-1932) was the third son of John Musgrave of Whitehaven, and later of Wasdale Hall, Cumberland. He entered St. John's College, Oxford, in 1873, taking his B.A. in 1876 and M.A. in 1881. In 1878 he was entered as a student at the Middle Temple, and was called to the bar in 1881. He is recorded as a practising barrister in Foster's Men at the Bar, but we have no details of his legal career. In his Editorial Note to the posthumous edition of 1933, E. A. Parker tells us that the translator's intention, expressed in the original preface, of completing the Comedy had to be abandoned owing to persistent ill health, combined in later years with blindness. This also interrupted the final revision of the Inferno, which at the time of his death had only reached the early part of canto VI. He left, however, notes and memoranda, from which Parker corrected the remainder, embodying such changes as he felt to be an improvement on the earlier version. The revision was very con-

siderable, almost every stanza in the poem showing alterations. Unless otherwise stated quotations in this article are from the revised edition.

It is worth while pausing a moment to remark on another very striking difference between the two editions of Musgrave's *Inferno*, namely in the physical presentation of the poem. Placed side by side the two books exemplify the changes in taste which forty years have brought about. The 1893 volume is a peculiarly ugly one, that of 1933 a beautiful one. For the deficiencies of the former, all parties concerned must share the blame. The translator has disfigured his pages with an extraordinary and unnecessary array of distinctions in type: there are words and phrases in small capitals, full capitals, italic and even italic capitals; there are other words, lines and even once a whole stanza (III.1-9) in a peculiarly illegible Old English black letter. The battery of quotation marks produced by the antiquated fashion of repeating them at the beginning of every line is further complicated by an extraordinary though not consistent treatment of quotations within a speech, where sometimes the second quotation mark is placed both at the beginning and end of every line; in addition to being double quoted some of the secondary speeches are in italic. The printer seems to have had the ingenious idea of equalising the length of the lines in places by increasing the space between words in short lines, sometimes making this as wide as an em and a half, with disastrous visual effect. Needless to say, the Oxford edition of 1933, tastefully set in Fournier type, not only rectifies these defects, but adds genuine pleasure to the perusal of the work by the excellence of its lay-out.

Musgrave's preface is very short, and is quoted below in full, except for the last paragraph which merely expresses the intention, already referred to, of completing the other cantiche.

Although the writer of this translation intends his work primarily for the many, he is not without hope that it may secure the sanction of scholars. His aim has been to convey a vivid impression; to make his version simple and readable; to maintain a sensitive fidelity to the spirit of the original, while avoiding all false literality or adherence to the mere letter.

The measure of the Italian - the terza rima - has been discarded as too alien to the genius of the English tongue. Even in original poetry (with the notable exception of certain lyrics, Mr William Morris' Defence of Guinevere, and some fragments of Shelley) the terza rima, down from the time of Surrey, who first attempted to naturalise it, has never proved acceptable to our English taste.

The form here ventured on - the Spenserian Stanza - is the nearest equivalent we possess; and, apart from its other merits, it is believed that it will give some echo of the ring and the beautifully interlinked rhyme sounds of Dante's own metre. It must be its own justification, for no statement, however elaborate, of the reasons which induced the translator to adopt it, can ever justify it. Only this much may be said: since we have no characteristic English measure wherein the lines run in threes, there should be no antecedent prejudice against an attempt to apply the most characteristic of all our metres - the nine-line Spenserian Stanza - to the rendering of a poem whose verses run in triplets, and, in a surprising number of instances, in triplets of triplets.

We see that up to a point Musgrave's mind worked along the same track as Shadwell's; both were searching for a metrical form to preserve the rhyme and also to suit Dante's stanzaic pattern.

Although Musgrave makes no reference to earlier efforts, the idea of rendering the Divine Comedy in Spenserian stanzas was not new. As early as 1813 such a version of the Ugolino episode, including Inf. XXXI.1-39, 125-39 and XXXIII.1-78, appeared in an anonymous volume, Poetical Epistles and Specimens of Translation, published in Edinburgh and containing a variety of renderings ranging from portions of Klopstock's Messiah to some of Petrarch's sonnets and odes by Anacreon and Tyrtæus. The author has since been identified as Robert Morehead (1777-1842), a native of Stirlingshire, who won an exhibition to Baliol, kept terms at the Temple, took Anglican orders, and was for some years Dean of Edinburgh. The passage from Dante, which is very indifferently rendered, is printed in full by

vol. I,
Toynbee (D.E.L., pp. 647-50). The style is that of the preceding century; padding in the shape of a few additional horrors is freely employed; and there are several awkward enjambements between stanzas. One of these must serve as a sample:

With well-train'd dogs, whose sides were pinch'd and lean:
In a short course the wild beast and its young
Were wearied out, and torn with tusks that keen
Were buried in their sides. - From sleep I sprung: -
I heard my slumb'ring babes, with whining tongue
Call out for bread! Thy heart must sure be steel,
If, at this dire recital, 'tis not wrung!
What, at that moment did my bosom feel?
Tears at this tale must flow, if any tears are real!

Toynbee also prints (D.E.L., vol. II, pp. 474-6) a version in Spenserians of Purg. II.10-26 and one of Inf. IX.64-103; these were included, without any reference to their authorship, in an anonymous article on Milton and Dante in the Quarterly Review of June 1827. That they formed part of a longer translation is suggested by the fact that line 10 of Purg. II and line 64 of Inf. IX each begin a new stanza, as if preceded by an even multiple of 9, and the verses printed correspond nearly line for line with Dante's. No more of this translation has come to light and the author remains unidentified. Although his style has some eighteenth century features he was a better poet than Morehead, as the first stanza of the passage from Purg. II shows:

Meanwhile we tarried near the rippling tide
As men that muse upon their destined way,
Who move in thought, though still their limbs abide -
When lo! as sometimes Mars, with fiery ray,
Gleams through the grosser air at dawn of day,
From forth the western ocean - such the sight,
(Strongly my memory can that hour portray),
As onward o'er the waters rushed a light
In speed surpassing far the eagle's nimblest flight.

The mistranslation of 's'io ancor lo veggia' in line 16 is one quite common at that period.

Spenserian experiments on a larger scale were made by Edmund Doidge Anderson Morshead, known also as a translator of Sophocles. His Dante - An Essay (1875) contained the episodes of Francesca, Ulysses and Ugolino and the first nine lines of Par. XXV in Spenserians, as well as a passage from Inf. XXX in rhymed couplets. Later he published several fragments in Spenserians in the Oxford Magazine: Purg. II.55-133 in 1884, Purg. III.91-145 in 1885, then, after a long interval, Purg. XXII.55-112 in 1904. Morshead's versification is skilful, but he encounters some of the difficulties inseparable from the form, and his stanzas often break at awkward places. Manfred's speech begins:

I felt this double death-wound rend and rive
My body, and with tears I rendered
My soul to Him who loveth to forgive;
Deep were my sins and deadly was my dread,
Yet wide were th' Everlasting Arms outspread,
Me to enfold, and every penitent!
Would that in God that writing he had read -
Cosenza's prelate, who, by Clement sent,
Doglike did hunt my corpse forth from its monument!

The following is a stanza of Statius' speech from Purg. XXII:

'Thou first,' he said, 'didst set me on the road
To climb and drink within Parnassus' caves,
And, next, didst light me on the way to God.
Thou wert as one who goes by night and waves
A torch behind him; not himself he saves,
But makes the folk, who follow after, wise.
"The world awakes, the world renewal craves,
Justice returns, new days of gold arise,
And a new progeny of Heaven descends the skies".'

Shadwell's solution has on the whole better justification than Musgrave's; we have already enumerated its practical advantages, almost none of which are shared by the Spenserian stanza. The latter makes even greater demands on the translator's ingenuity in finding rhymes than does terza rima, for he has to repeat one rhyming sound four times and another thrice; and since the former sounds are spread through the stanza from

the second to the seventh line, three *terzine* have to be considered together and words found to fit them all. The fact that the stanza contains nine lines which is a multiple of three is a largely illus^ory advantage. While it is true that the *Commedia* contains many groups of three *terzine* which combine to form a sense-group, there is no certainty that these will occur in the right place for the translator. Indeed, in order to begin his stanza with the first of three such connected *terzine*, Musgrave has often to play tricks with those before and after, his most frequent device being to expand six lines of Italian into a full stanza. In other places where this is impossible, he leaves the stanzas as they come, with an internal division which dislocates the pattern, and quite often an awkward enjambement at the end to link with the next. By way of illustration we may take canto II which is typical of many others. The first four stanzas correspond with Dante's first twelve *terzine*, and do so quite naturally; indeed lines 1-9 provide one of these happy cases where a nine-line stanza is just right. Lines 37-42 have to be expanded to a full stanza, so that a new stanza may begin with Virgil's speech at line 43, ending with line 51. But since it is desired to begin Beatrice's speech at line 58 with a new stanza, especially since it contains 18 lines, and is followed by 9 lines spoken by Virgil, lines 52-7 have to be made into a full stanza, which requires a bit of padding. Beatrice's next speech runs from lines 85-114, and thereafter the conclusion of Virgil's own speech takes to line 126. By dint of slight expansion, Musgrave makes lines 85-117, i.e. eleven *terzine*, occupy three stanzas; the next six *terzine* fall naturally into two more, leaving seven lines to be expanded into a full stanza at the end. This brings us to another difficulty: since each canto must contain an integral number of stanzas, the last few are liable to be affected by this requirement,

irrespective of whether they suit the division or not. Thus the last 13 lines of canto XIV are expanded to two full stanzas, by dint of such padding as ~~XX~~ 'Still I importuned, asking yet again' = 'E io ancor', or

As for the other - Lethe - that thou wilt
Ere long, beyond this hollow Tomb survey

(line 116)

(line 143)

= 'Letè vedrai, ma fuor di questa fossa'. The expansion produced in this way amounts to about 120 lines over the whole *Inferno*. There is also, but less frequently, contraction for similar reasons, for instance in canto VII, so as to end a stanza at the close of Virgil's speech at line 66, the preceding 'fell - tell'. In the later cantos very slovenly expedients are

The awkwardness arising, on the other hand, from taking the *terzine* extract, covering XXVII.67-78, will show: 'as they come' can be seen from the Ulysses passage quoted in Appendix I.

Ulysses' speech has to be divided between two stanzas in such a way that there is no stop at all at the end of the closing line of the first. No doubt the translator would have avoided this if he could, but an inspection of what precedes and follows will show that he had to make a choice of evils. Another bad break occurs at the end of the second last stanza, but here it may be noted that Musgrave has omitted line 132 altogether and drawn back the beginning of the next *terzina*, both to soften the transition and to make room for the odd last line of the canto which must be accommodated in the final nine-line stanza. Enjambement at the end of stanzas becomes increasingly frequent as the poem advances. In the first six cantos there is only one example of a stop weaker than a semi-colon at the end of a stanza; in canto XXIII there are four examples, and other later cantos contain as many. In most of these cases, and certainly in all the four just mentioned, had Dante's *terzine* been followed the stanza would have closed at a break in the sense; but owing to the exigencies of metre and rhyme the translator has found it necessary to overlap the *terzine*, producing

the following, where the break between stanzas is denoted by a solidus:

Then, as one thought will rouse / Another thought (line 10)

I have got what thou / Imaginest mirrored (line 27)

'twas expedient / That one man suffer (line 116)

Ah! well, / Oft heard I in Bologna (line 143)

The last example is a particularly objectionable one, for the last two syllables of the Alexandrine begin a new sentence by a new speaker, and the break is evidently dictated by the need to find a rhyme for the preceding 'fell - tell'. In the later cantos very slovenly expedients are regularly tolerated for the sake of getting a rhyme, as the following extract, covering XXVII.67-78, will show:

I was a man of arms; then with the hope
Of good Saint Francis, girt me, hoping so
To make amends. And certainly my hope
Had prospered well; but the Great Pontiff - O
Beshrew him! - made me lapse again. To know
The how and wherefore, prythee listen. While
I in the frame of bones and flesh did go,
My Mother gave me, all my deeds of guile
Showed less the lion than the fox. For every wile

And policy I knew; yea, proved their worth,
And such a master waxed in subtle shift,
The sound thereof ran to the ends of Earth.

Musgrave does not avoid the forced rhymes so noticeable in the terza rima versions. We have obvious translatese like XVI.43-5:

Whilst I, between them, plagued no less than they,
Jacopo Rusticucci was, and prove
That most my shrewish wife me to this evil drove,

or again (XXVI.79-81):

O Spirits twain within one fire, if I've
Aught merited of you, whether it were
Little or much I merited alive . . .

We find 'through't' and 'to't' rhymed with 'fruit'; 'infuriated' (four syllables) with 'said'; 'companion' (four syllables) with 'upon';

'Ninus's' (three syllables) with 'Semiramis'. Musgrave made some effort in revision to improve the bad rhymes of the earlier cantos, not always happily. In the first edition III.37-9 reads:

And mixt with them are all those dastard elves,
That band of Angels Base, who neither were
For God, nor 'gainst, but only for Themselves,

while the revised version reads:

With whom's the sort that faith and duty shelves,
As did that Angel Host who neither were
For God nor against, but only for themselves.

It will be evident that these technical difficulties in themselves more than disqualify the Spenserian stanza as a vehicle for Dante's *terzine*. In addition there are poetic difficulties. It is not by any means essential to write Spenserian stanzas as Spenser wrote them; but the measure was evolved by him to suit his purpose, which it did most admirably, and developed by later writers, like Shelley, Keats and Tennyson, for other but similar functions. It is one of the most sensitive stanza forms in the language; the uneven number of lines, the rhyme linkage, and the concluding Alexandrine combine to make a pattern and create an atmosphere capable of the highest poetic effects. These effects, however, have their limitations; while considerable variety is possible, changes of tone must be carefully modulated and abruptness avoided.

Spenserians are thus still further removed from the energetic variety which we find in Dante; the rapid switch from one kind of effect to another. Further, the Spenserian stanza moves slowly and encourages diffuseness; whereas Dante's style demands precision and concentration. We have an example of an attempt to change the function of the stanza in Byron's *Childe Harold*, a poem which has no doubt its purple passages, but which on the whole is well below the level of say *Adonais* in technical

achievement. Byron breaks his lines and stanzas and uses occasional enjambement and any approach to poetry that we find in Musgrave is at the Byronic rather than the Spenserian level. Both show the same incongruities, and to both the closing Alexandrine, one of the most outstanding features of the metre, is a stumbling-block, being too often just one more line which happens to have two unwanted syllables in it. Musgrave here is at a double disadvantage, for being tied down by his original, he can seldom make his Alexandrines coincide with a real opportunity for using them. Musgrave makes frequent use of feminine rhymes, avoided by most writers of Spenserians except Shelley, who employs them very skilfully. Musgrave's double rhymes seldom have any poetical value, and seem to be there just because the sound happens to be linguistically suitable. Contrast with Shelley's

Evening must usher night, night urge the morrow,
Month follow month with woe, and year wake year to sorrow,

with the sixth stanza of Musgrave's second canto, in which he breaks all records by including a trisyllabic rhyme for good measure.

Then answered unto me that Shade magnanimous:
'If right thy meaning I have comprehended,
Thy soul is haunted by that pusillanimous
And boggling fear that all too oft hath tended
To fray men back from ventures high and splendid,
As objects falsely seen full oft are scaring
To ridden steeds that shy. But here be ended
Thy doubts and dreads, while I am now declaring
What things myself have heard and why I'm hither faring.

From time to time, particularly in the early cantos, Musgrave makes an attempt to raise the pedestrian level of his verse by means of a line of loftier pretensions, which is often padding. In the first edition the appearance of Virgil (I.61-3) is rendered:

Till, in my down-career, lo! mid the trees,
Through a long silent vista, sudden One
Rose dim before me, like an Apparition.

The changes in the second edition are often, though not always, aimed at still further heightening such effects, and also at times seem to be directed at greater literality. Both are achieved in the revised version of the above passage,

Till, as I ruined down, lo! for release
Presented to mine eyes there appeared One
Through a long silent glade dim in the day nigh done.

Here we have the 'ruinava in basso loco' and 'dinnanzi alli occhi mi si fu offerto' of the text restored, while at the same time the wholly imaginary vista of the first edition has been expanded into a 'noble line' which contrasts oddly enough with its prosaic predecessor. The two lines (III.43-4),

E io: 'Maestro, che è tanto grave
a lor, che lamentar li fa sì forte?'

are expanded to three in the first edition, the third line being padding:

'But, Master, what is the special pang they bear
That makes them so outery,' I questioned him,
'These Miserables whom Heaven and Hell alike contemn?'

The version in the second edition is somewhat extraordinary, for Musgrave seems to have decided that Dante's question refers not to the crowd in general but to the fallen angels, which seems very unlikely; but in the course of getting rid of the defective rhyme, he produces a completely new line, good enough in itself but with a distinct flavour of pastiche in the context:

But, Master, what can Angels have to bear
To raise such coil here at Perdition's hem,
These good-for-noughts whom Heaven and Hell alike contemn?

Incidentally, the phrase 'raise such a coil' originally appeared in the preceding stanza to translate 'questo misero modo / tengon . . .', which in the revised edition is changed to 'make such ado'. The earlier part

of the stanza which follows both the above is contracted, leaving a spare line, and in both editions lines 46-8 are augmented by an additional verse: 'Nameless for ever in oblivion'. In the first edition V.98-9 is translated:

Where Po descends with many a tribute flood
Down to the placid main, in quest of quietude,

but in the second another reminiscence intrudes and we have:

Where Po descends with many a sequent flood
From sounding heights afar in quest of quietude.

Some of the alterations are far from happy. One can understand that Musgrave was dissatisfied with V.133-4:

For when we read of that wish'd smile, and how
So great a Lover gave 't his hungering kiss . . .

but he hardly improved it by the change to

When of her long-wished smile we read, and how
It got at last so grand a lover's kiss.

There is a very odd change at V.36, 'bestemmian quivi la virtù divina', which originally read 'Yea: even 'gainst God's own virtue horribly blaspheme' and was changed to 'Yea, e'en 'twould seem / Heaven's very gift of love ungratefully blaspheme', which is hard on the unfortunate sinners.

Musgrave wisely makes little attempt to use Spenserian language; in one place where the original edition had 'drowsihead' it was changed to 'drowsiness' in the second. He has a sprinkling of archaisms, but they are mostly rhyme words or mere tags, 'wot', 'ween', 'wis', 'whilome', etc. He has a few Spenserian coinages like 'masterment', 'vanquishment', with here and there a 'wight' or an 'antre'.

Musgrave has some good stanzas, informed by a genuine feeling both for his original text and his vehicle, and by way of relief three of these are quoted. They represent respectively III.79-87, VII.85-93 and XVII.10-18.

Then, fearing such oft questions had offended
My gentle Guide, with eyes abasht and low,
In mute companionship with him I wended
On till we reached the river-side; when lo!
I saw a heavy barge towards us row,
Bearing an old, old man, all grizzled-white
With unkempt hair, who, as he came, cried: 'Woe,
Woe, wicked Spirits! In dawnless, darkest plight,
Hope nevermore henceforth to see again the light.'

Man's wisdom cannot cope with her; for she
Foresees, foredooms, and follows her own drift,
God, like the rest, in her own empery.
Her changes take no truce, but ever shift;
Necessity compels her to be swift;
So he comes oft who may her bounties claim.
And this is she, bestowing gift on gift,
Ye men so rack and wrong with cruel blame -
Ay, and they most who most should magnify her name!

His face was like the face of a just man,
So mild it seemed, and outwardly so fair;
But all the rest into a reptile ran.
Two paws he had, to the arm-pits sleek with hair,
While breast and back and both his haunches were
Painted with nodes and circlets. Turk ne'er made,
Nor Tartar, of weaved silk, colours more rare,
Broidering in hues of subtly-varied shade;
Such webs upon her loom Arachnè never laid.

Musgrave shows considerable vigour and verve in dealing with the Malebranche, whom he renames - Terrortail, Puppyface, Shockbeard, etc.

'Here is no Holy Visage to be knee'd,
Nor ducking in the Serchio to the bent
Of thine own sportive humour: nay, take heed
Lest, if thou quit the pitch, our forks be all thy need.'

Then with a hundred prongs his carcass scathing
And yelling out, - 'Here be thy pilferings took
I' the dark; and, if thou canst, enjoy thy bathing!' (XXI.48-54)

There is an ingenious version of VII.19-21 in the first edition:

Justice of God - ah, God!, who, who but Thou
Could hoard for us such torments? And O why
Do our own sins so squander us?

The conceit, emphasised by italics as indicated, disappears altogether from the revised edition.

Musgrave's degree of accuracy is obscured by his paraphrasing and padding; but he has few errors that can be attributed to misunderstanding of the Italian. He seems to have been at some trouble to study variants, for many of the changes in the revised edition are due to the adoption of alternative readings, e.g. 'modo' is preferred to 'mondo' in V.102 and 'feltro' = 'felt' accepted instead of 'Feltro' in I.105.

The first edition had a good reception from the press. The Athenaeum (14th October 1893) thought it a 'new, decidedly interesting attempt' and 'a good poem', but criticised the archaic tags as 'sorry rhymes', and drew attention to some awkwardness and inexactitude. The Spectator (10th February 1894, p. 206) said that the 'difficult metre' was 'handled with great success' and that 'the versification is of uncommon excellence'. The Saturday Review (6th January 1894, p. 18) thought 'Spenserians not suitable' and criticised the typography, concluding that the translation was 'somewhat rococo in taste' but 'not dull'. By the time the new edition appeared taste had changed. The Times Literary Supplement (18th January 1934, p. 36) found it

finely executed, but not to the point of a convincing fusion of the thought and the form . . . the words wrench and jostle and are bruised in the angles of the pattern.

The New Statesman (22nd July 1933, pp. 110-11) was severe; it thought the 'Spenserian stanza wholly unsuitable' and the result 'ridiculously remote from Dante'. It also made the penetrating remark that 'Much literary skill has gone into the making of this version; poetry, however, does not derive from literary skill'.

The last quoted opinion is a fair summing up of the matter. Musgrave possessed both skill and patience; many portions of his poem read reasonably well; but he never makes Dante come alive for us. In this

respect he is even less successful than Shadwell, mainly because the latter combined literal accuracy with a fair degree of consistency in preserving Dante's stanzas. Musgrave sacrifices this accuracy, and in doing so inevitably weakens and dilutes, but even so is seldom successful in fitting what is left of the matter to the new mould. Something more is said on the subject of rendering Dante in Spenserian stanzas in dealing with Epiphanius Wilson among the minor translators.

A word may be said about Batten's illustrations, the reproduction of which is excellently done. They have some pleasant qualities, and there is a degree of technical accomplishment and a sureness of touch which are welcome. It is disconcerting, however, to find Hell so small! Although we know that the innermost pit of Malebolge measured eleven miles round, as seen from the back of Geryon in Batten's drawing the whole series of concentric rings looks about the size of Hampton Court maze, an impression reinforced by the other pictures. Virgil is throughout unconvincing, for he walks through hell disguised as a Hebrew patriarch and one is surprised that he is not clasping a phylactery.

Broughart's version, which closes the long list of terza rima renderings of the late nineteenth century, is an exceedingly bad one. The result obtained from the assessment of test passages confirms the impression formed from general reading, and places it in the lowest grade of terza rima translations. It strikes one as having been hurriedly and roughly put together by forcing the sense of successive tercine into the metrical mould, using every kind of licence to preserve the rhyme scheme. Fudging of the wildest kind is inserted, words are used in wrong senses, all kinds of awkwardness, obscurity and cacophony are permitted, and numerous archaisms used, sometimes even invented.

ROBERT URQUHART

Dante's Divine Comedy. The Inferno. Translated in the terza rima of the original by Robert Urquhart. Privately printed. 1895. Crown octavo, pp. 171. Apart from the title page the book contains nothing except the English text, printed in terzine, unnumbered; there are no arguments and only one footnote.

Nothing seems to be known of Robert Urquhart. His Inferno is very scarce; the only copy traced is in the Bodleian. There is no copy in the British Museum, nor in any other public library in Britain. I have in my possession what appears to be a press proof, roughly sewn and bound in plain paper boards, bearing the stamp of the printers, Richard Clay & Sons Ltd., Bungay, on the first page of each signature. It is identical with the final print except for a few corrections marked on it, ^{and} ~~except~~ that the title page has the imprint of Macmillan and Co. and the date 1894. This is scored out and the words which ultimately appeared inserted. Evidently Macmillan arranged for the production of the book, but decided not to publish it; they are unable to find any information on the subject in their records.

Urquhart's version, which closes the long list of terza rima renderings of the late nineteenth century, is an exceedingly bad one. The result obtained from the assessment of test passages confirms the impression formed from general reading, and places it in the lowest grade of terza rima translations. It strikes one as having been hurriedly and roughly put together by forcing the sense of successive terzine into the metrical mould, using every kind of licence to preserve the rhyme scheme. Padding of the wildest kind is inserted, words are used in wrong senses, all kinds of awkwardness, obscurity and cacophony are permitted, and numerous archaisms used, sometimes even invented.

There is no attempt at discipline, order or felicity of expression, although here and there one finds a good line or group of lines which indicates that the translator had some appreciation of the original. A glance at the extract from Inf. XXVI given in Appendix I will probably give the reader all and more than he needs to agree with this verdict.

No marks of quotation are used, which is very confusing, especially since the translation is by no means so lucid as to be self-explanatory. The archaisms include most of the old favourites - ween, weet, wot, dight, hight, gride, shent, etc. There are some northern provincialisms, e.g. 'jamp' (= jumped), 'lade' (= millrace), 'mickle'. Some other words, like the 'goth' of XXVI.104 seem to require explanation. False rhymes occur such as 'scribe - replied'. An ingenuity of the same kind as Thomas's is displayed in the manufacture of double rhymes; thus to suit 'aleppè' at the end of VII.1 we have in lines 2-4:

the sage who went
Informed of all we met at every step, he
Said to console me . . .

So in VI.63 we have 'flames of discord lit aye' to rhyme with 'pity - city', and

For Branca Doria never died, but frank he
Yet eats, and drinks . . .

to rhyme with 'Malebranche - Zanche' (XXXIII.140). Rhyming sounds are repeated at very short intervals, and words are also rhymed with themselves.

The rendering of the simile in II.127-32 will illustrate Urquhart's general level of performance:

As flowers, which cold nocturnal dews begem,
Declined and shut, when by the sun's ray tinged,
Erect themselves all open on their stem;
So came my faculties and powers unhinged,
And in my heart I felt such courage move
That I commenced, as one no fear had twinged.

In the next canto we have (lines 31-42):

Then I, whose head was yet in error bound,
Said: Master, what is this I hear about?
And what are they who seem in wo so drowned?
And he to me: This miserable rout
Is of their hapless souls who jarred and jingled,
Who lived without reproach, and praise without.
And of the Angels in this band are mingled
That neither were rebellious unto Him
Nor true to God; but for themselves were singled.
Heaven drives them out, lest they its beauties dim;
Nor the abyss of hell receives them, lest
Its bad abodes become by them less grim.

Such passages could be quoted several times over from every canto; it will be sufficient to give one more (XX.106-17) which also shows Urquhart's prevailing disregard for accuracy.

Then he to me said: He who from the throat
Hangs forth his beard over his shoulders sable,
Was, when the males of Greece lay so afloat
That scarce to fill the cradles they were able,
Seer, and with Chalcas cast the time's nice touch
In Aulis port to cut the earliest cable.
Eurypylus was he, and sings of such
My lofty Tragedy in certain story,
As well know'st thou who know'st it all so much.
Yon other lanky shadow, thin and sorry,
Was Michael Scot, who truly could relate
Of magic tricks the juggle and the glory.

A few of the stranger effects produced by the exigencies of rhyme are quoted below.

Who by long silence seemed faint and decayed	(I.63)
Save one of them who sat up in his bed	(VI.38)
Who souls could to their bodies back concuss	(IX.24)
My sleep I lost, and let my life-blood spout	(XIII.63)
Were changed the sad words of the flaming gas	(XXVII.15)
Walkst the Antenora, striking our cheeks' coats	(XXXII.89)
In his own body and a friend's (their wraith)	(XXXIII.146)
It was no palace hall to dance about	(XXXIV.97)

A number of very awkward enjambements occur, even at the end of a *terzina*, such as 'O Soul, that there below art hidden, thy / Romagna is . . . ' (XXVII.36) or 'on the sea / Shore' (XXX.18-19).

The padding is of all kinds. In I.40 we have: 'heavenly love / Called forth at first these orbs from ancient night'. In II.28 the 'chosen vessel' is described as 'washed from sin' (to rhyme with 'win - begin'). XV.13-15 is a counsel of desperation:

We now so far beyond the wood had passed
That nothing had I seen of it at noon
From where I was tho' back my eyes I'd cast,

so that 'new moon' could be brought in lower down. Awkwardness, obscurity and cacophony are frequent, e.g.

Who so weeps for him to whom thee I send (II.95)

So that strong breath of hell the spirits bad,
Now here, now there, now up, now under, knocks;
No hope, no hope, to comfort them have they,
No hope of rest, nor of less cruel shocks. (V.42-5)

There where contrary fault in two them splits (VII.45)

Of the violent the first Circle is all (XI.28)

And of it for another arch jambs makes (XVIII.102)

And yet I wondered at its high walls well (XXXII.18)

With wood wood never yet was clamp-ironed
So strongly . . . (XXXII.49-50)

There are many other oddities. 'With whom I leave thee on your march sublime' (I.123) contains a confusion of pronouns also found elsewhere.

'Cerberus, a cruel monster and a wonder' (VI.13) is the kind of fatuity strewn throughout. A Caledonian atmosphere is created by reference to

'the rovers' kilts' in XXII.4. XXIII.42 is translated 'So much as only

with a comely shift'. 'I should the juices of my fancy shed / More fully

on it' (XXXII.4-5) is not very happily expressed.

Besides general inaccuracy, there are a few actual mistranslations. In I.58-60 'sanza pace' is transferred to the speaker, 'me, with mind by many troubles tost'. The old stumbling block in IX.54, 'mal non vengiammo' is turned to a typically Scottish understatement: 'Not badly did we Theseus' crime avenge'. XVIII.42 is oddly rendered: 'Now for the sight of him my fast is done'. Reference to XXVI.110-11 in Appendix I will show that Urquhart has mixed up the relative positions of Beville and Ceuta.

Two lines where Urquhart has slightly added to Dante's words seem to be genuinely in character. In XIII.73 'Per le nove radici d'esto legno' becomes 'By the new roots of this my self-sown tree', while in XIV.48 'Si che la pioggia non par che 'l maturi' is rendered 'As if this shower no fruit in him could breed'. One or two pieces which seem to shine (by comparison at least with the rest) are given below.

But now there smote along the turbid tides
A loud crash of a sound of awful kind,
Whence the marsh shook and trembled on both sides:
Not otherwise than when a mighty wind
Impetuous rushing, ~~thno~~' contrary heats,
The forest strikes, and raging unconfined,
Rends boughs and whirls them off, and all things beats
Before it down in its proud dusty yoke,
While herds flee home, and beasts to their retreats. (IX.64-72)

On his already fixed my eyes I strain
Where proudly he had reared his breast and brow,
As if he held all hell in high disdain. (X.34-6)

But that malignant people who begin
Their times from Fiesole, and still partake
The nature of the mountain and the whin . . . (XV.61-3)

Now it befits to shake thyself from sloth,
My Master said: Fame is not found at home
In beds of feathery down and quilted cloth;
And he who without fame thro' life doth roam,
Leaves in the world such vestige of his name
As smoke in air or in the water foam.
Then raise thyself, and breathless terror tame
With the great mind which all things can surmount,
If not touched with the weakness of the frame.

'Tis fit by longer clamberings yet we mount;
Nor is't enough that we from those are safe:
My counsel, understood, turn to account. (XXIV.46-57)

So, ere it lights and blazes up, there flies
Over the paper fair a brownish hue,
Which is not black yet, tho' its whiteness dies. (XXV.64-6)

There is a consciousness of the sound ~~off~~ the original in XIV.28-30:

The sand all over, with a fall slow,
There showered down great flakes of molten fire,
As on a windless Alp descends the snow.

There is also some reflection of Dante's power in the treatment of Vanni
Fucci's struggle back to consciousness (XXIV.112-7):

As one who falls in strange and frensied mood,
Cast down by demon, or the dread surprise
Of cold obstruction that besets man's blood,
When risen, around him wildly rolls his eyes,
All by the mighty agony amazed
Which he has suffered, and beholding sighs.

The only word of explanatory matter in Urquhart's book is a solitary
footnote to XV.99, 'He hearkens well, who heedeth her', which reads 'i.e.
Fortune. Vide Canto VII.61-96'. This shows that Urquhart was aware of
the various attempts to explain this line, and had at least some knowledge
of the commentators.

No reviews have been found of Urquhart's book, and its scarcity
indicates that the print must have been a very small one.
(better known by her literary pseudonym, Vernon Lee), and their home was
a rendezvous for literary and intellectual society, Henry James and Paul
Bourget being among the frequent visitors. During this period Lee-Hamilton
beguiled the time by writing verse, and achieved something of a reputation
as a sonneteer. He published a succession of books, including Poems and
Transcripts (1878), Gods, Saints and Men (1880), The New Medusa (1882),
Apollon and Narcissus (1884), Imaginary Sonnets (1886), Sonnets of the Winged

EUGENE JACOB LEE-HAMILTON

The Inferno of Dante. Translated with Plain Notes by Eugene Lee-Hamilton, author of 'The New Medusa', 'Imaginary Sonnets', 'Sonnets of the Wingless Hours', etc. Grant Richards, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London. 1898. Crown octavo, pp. xvii, 249. Dedicated to Evelyn Wimbush; preface, pp. vii-ix; detailed Contents, pp. xi-xvii; English text, printed in terzine, with arguments (repeated from Contents), pp. 1-205; notes, pp. 207-49.

The Purgatorio of Dante. In manuscript, given by Miss Violet Paget to Paget Toynbee in 1921, now in the Toynbee Collection (d.15) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Eugene Jacob Lee-Hamilton (1845-1907) was born in London, but his childhood was spent in France, first near Pau and later at Paris. After schooling in France and Germany, he entered Oriel College, Oxford, in 1864, where he studied French and German, but left without taking a degree. In 1869 he received a minor diplomatic appointment as attaché with the Foreign Office; he was with the British embassy in Paris during the Franco-German War, and later held other diplomatic offices. Among his accomplishments are mentioned skating and dancing. In 1875 he was stricken by a nervous disease which incapacitated him from all physical exertion for fully twenty years, and indeed kept him almost entirely recumbent. During most of that time he lived at Florence with his mother and his half-sister, Violet Paget (better known by her literary pseudonym, Vernon Lee), and their home was a rendezvous for literary and intellectual society, Henry James and Paul Bourget being among the frequent visitors. During this period Lee-Hamilton beguiled the time by writing verse, and achieved something of a reputation as a sonneteer. He published a succession of books, including Poems and Transcripts (1878), Gods, Saints and Men (1880), The New Medusa (1882), Apollo and Marsyas (1884), Imaginary Sonnets (1888), Sonnets of the Wingless

Hours (1894). In 1896 he recovered completely from his illness and resumed an active life. He visited Canada and the United States in 1898, and married Annie E. Holdsworth, already known as a novelist, author of The Years that the Locust hath eaten. With her he settled between Florence and Fiesole, and husband and wife collaborated in a volume of verse, Forest Notes (1899). Lee-Hamilton was nothing if not versatile; in 1891 he had published a tragedy in verse, The Fountain of Youth; his translation of Dante's *Inferno* appeared in 1898; it was followed by two novels, The Lord of the Dark Red Star (1903) and The Romance of the Fountain (1905). In 1904 he suffered a blow from which he did not permanently recover in the death of his infant daughter, whom he commemorated in a book of sonnets, Minna Bella. The depression into which he sank culminated in his death by a paralytic stroke in 1907. He had completed the *Purgatorio* before he died but it was not published; it is dealt with at the end of this article. A selection of his poems appeared in the *Canterbury Poets* series in 1903, the introduction to which, by William Sharp, contains a very full memoir of the subject's life up to that date and an appreciation of his work.

Lee-Hamilton's reputation did not long survive him. He did not find his way into the anthologies, and his books, the editions of which were small, are now hard to find. He was a deft handler of words, especially within the limited compass of the sonnet, but had little marked originality, and tended to reflect rather than create; Swinburne, among others, influenced him considerably. He had also a moralising tendency which sometimes spoils his work by being over-obtrusive. It may be worth while, since his verse is not readily accessible, to reproduce here two sonnets, both typical, though differing in their treatment.

Wine of Omar Khayyam

He rode the flame-winged dragon-steed of Thought
Through Space and Darkness, seeking Heaven and Hell,
And searched the farthest stars where souls might dwell
To find God's justice: and in vain he sought.
Then, looking on the dusk-eyed girl who brought
His dream-filled wine beside his garden-well,
He said: 'Her kiss; the wine-jug's drowsy spell;
Bulbul; the roses; death; . . . all else is naught:
So drink till that.' - What, drink, because the abyss
Of Nothing waits? because there is for man
But one swift hour of consciousness and light?
No. - Just because we have no life but this,
Turn it to use; be noble while you can;
Search, help, create; then pass into the night.

It will be seen that here the heady ^{wine} ~~craft~~ of FitzGerald is amply diluted
with a sober tonic that might have been decanted from 'Festus' Bailey.

Baudelaire

A Paris gutter of the good old times,
Black and putrescent in its stagnant bed,
Save where the shamle oozings fringe it red,
Or scaffold trickles, or nocturnal crimes.
It holds dropped gold; dead flowers from tropic climes;
Gems true and false, by midnight maskers shed;
Old pots of rouge; old broken phials that spread
Vague fumes of musk, with fumes of slums and slimes.
And everywhere, as glows the set of day,
There floats upon the winding fetid mire
The gorgeous iridescence of decay:
A wavy film of colour gold and fire
Trembles all through it as you pick your way,
And streaks of purple that are straight from Tyre.

A lot of care has gone to this word-spinning, and probably much conning
of Swinburne's Poems and Ballads, but one could hardly consider a stanza
of 'Ave atque Vale' a fair exchange.

A minor poet, with taste, ability and leisure at command, living in
Italy and associating with men of letters, might seem an ideal choice for
the task of translating Dante; and it is surprising at first to find Lee-
Hamilton's *Inferno* such a shattering failure as it is. The reasons,

however, are not far to seek. To begin with, Lee-Hamilton had a prosodic theory, which is always dangerous. To decide that the most important feature of any poet's achievement lies in his scansion is a short cut to disaster; the metrical obsession soon prevents one from noticing anything else, and every kind of effect is explained in prosodic terms. Here is Lee-Hamilton's theory as set out in his preface.

There are in the Divine Comedy three main metrical factors: -

1. The spirit of the Terzina, or intellectual division of the verse into groups of three, or of multiples of three. Dante thought in threes and sixes, and sometimes even in nines and twelves, the groups being expressed by the punctuation.

2. The chain of the rhyme.

3. The eleventh, or as we should call it with respect to iambic verse, the feminine syllable, at the end of each line - a syllable characteristic of Italian verse in general, and without which no verse translation can reproduce the effect of the original.

Of these three factors I have preserved the first and the third, and have omitted the second. Most other translators, while sometimes preserving the second, and not always preserving the first, have disregarded the third as unimportant. Now, to my mind, the eleventh or feminine syllable is absolutely essential, if the object is to reproduce the effect of the original on the ear. And this was the view of one of the best foreign translators, perhaps the best foreign translator, of Dante - Philalethes (King John of Saxony).

The rhyme is comparatively unimportant. Its maintenance precludes the English translator from keeping the feminine syllable, and forces him to depart from closeness of meaning and literalness of expression. No rhymed translation of Dante can be more than an approximation; and the rhyme in the original is so unimportant, that he whose mind is bent upon the meaning scarcely notices it at all.

Quite apart from my own performance, of whose deficiencies I am but too fully aware, I believe that in selecting the two factors out of three which could alone reproduce in their combination the sense and sound of the original, I have adopted the only plan that can secure a comparatively satisfactory line-for-line translation.

The extent of Lee-Hamilton's aberration is clear from the penultimate paragraph, with its bland assertion of the unimportance of the rhyme; but perhaps even more indicative of his fundamental misunderstanding of the very

nature of poetry is his assumption that 'Dante thought in threes and sixes'. It would be as sensible to say that Lee-Hamilton or any other writer of sonnets thought in fourteens. The formal element is superimposed on the content, not vice versa, and the measure of success in poetry is the mutual adaptation of sound and sense. As for the hendecasyllable, it is characteristic of Italian verse in general because anything else is impossible. This is not a matter of theory but of Sprachgefühl. A glance at Lee-Hamilton's treatment of Dante's occasional strong endings will demonstrate the absurdity of the whole argument. In the two cases in the Inferno where Dante seems to have used monosyllabic rhymes for effect, viz. 'udi - sen gi - parti' (XXIII.143-5-7) and 'sposò - levò' (XXXI.143-5), these are not reproduced; indeed canto XXXI ends very tamely with 'But rose just like a mast upon a vessel'. The other instances are due to the occurrence of proper names (Noè, Po, Ali, Tabernicoh, Artù), of which Lee-Hamilton preserves the second and fourth, in the first of these rather ineptly intruding a rhyme, 'lap - flow - Po'. Moreover on half a dozen occasions he uses a monosyllabic ending of his own, probably through sheer inability to find anything else, though in each case the final syllable contains the diphthong '-oi-' (choice, Troy, etc.), and no doubt he comforted himself with the thought that it was half-way to a disyllable.

Poets writing in English have used in a greater or less degree the liberty of introducing feminine endings in blank verse; the extent of such usage is governed partly by personal preference, but mainly by functional value. The same applies to the blank verse translators of Dante: Rossetti keeps to decasyllables, Cary and Pollock have a few feminine endings, Longfellow a great many. Their use sometimes helps the writer to be more precise in his language or more effective in his expression. We have said

of lines of the type:

something elsewhere about the possibilities of blank *terzine* in English; one of the most considerable difficulties is the monotony of constantly recurring end-stopped lines. When every line is hendecasyllabic, the monotony becomes intolerable, while a severe strain is placed on vocabulary and expression, and that for the very reason that the eleven-syllabled line is natural in Italian. A large proportion of the most useful and important words in English are either monosyllabic or have a stress on the last syllable; to forgo entirely their use to terminate a line, and still more so a line and a sentence ending together, is entirely contrary to the genius of the language.

Lee-Hamilton was evidently influenced to some extent by the example of Philalethes, whose version he praises in his preface, and which, as a German scholar, he would be familiar with and could appreciate. The same difficulty of monotony exists also in German, but the restriction of vocabulary and expression by the necessity for feminine endings is not so serious, since in so many German words the accent falls naturally on the penultimate syllable. Even so, Philalethes' translation, highly as it has been praised, is more successful as a literal 'photograph' of the original than as a poetical reproduction. The exigencies of his metre drive the translator to use unpleasant line-endings; see for instance in the Philalethes passages reproduced in Appendix I Inf. XXVI.100, 112, etc., or the two particularly bad lines in Par. III, viz.

Drum wie wir durch dies Reich von Grad zu Grad sind (82)

Und unser Friede ist sein Wille; er ist / Das Meer . . . (85-6)

Lee-Hamilton has unfortunately copied this kind of line structure very freely in his own version, where it is still more objectionable than in German, and has even extended its use. He has, for instance, a large number of lines of the type:

Into eternal dark, where heat and frost are (III.87)
As the St. Peter's fir-cone that at Rome is (XXXI.59)
Setting their teeth to something like a stork's note (XXXII.36)
The hair of that curst worm by whom the world's pierced (XXXIV.108)

Still more annoying is his continual insertion of a gratuitous 'here', 'there', 'now', etc., at the end of a decasyllable to comply with his rule. Such lines often occur close together (see, for instance, canto XXVI, lines 100, 103, 113, 117, 127-8, in Appendix I). The last-mentioned example of two such badly constructed consecutive lines could be paralleled from many other cantos. In canto XIX line 47 reads 'Thou sorry soul, implanted like a stake there' and line 50 'The treacherous assassin, who, when stuck there'. In canto XXIII within a little over thirty lines we find 'capes here - man there - earth there - cross there - pit here'. In XXV.124-9 we have:

The erect one drew it up towards the temples,
And from the surplus substance that was heaped there,
The ears grew out of his ungarnished cheek-bone.
What did not gather back, and was retained there,
Of that excess, became the face's nose then,
And thickened out the lips as much as needful.

Other awkward line-endings involve the hyphening of two words not normally so connected, a device that does nothing to palliate their harshness. Thus we have compounds like 'might-be', 'dead-men', 'pitch-pool', 'neck-nape', 'all-men', 'fang-teeth'.

Awkward constructions, clumsy possessives, and slovenly colloquial forms are resorted to both for the sake of the metre and unnecessarily:

Who've forfeited the intellect's advantage (III.18)
For me, who'm one, will hither summon seven (XXII.103)
And I've the body that I've had at all times (XXIII.96)
But 't isn't what I died for brought me hither (XXIX.111)

He is fond of italicising words, especially pronouns, evidently as a guide to accent:

Bestirred herself and sought the place where I was (II.101)

And thou must know that previously to these here (IV.62)

But night once more is rising, and by this time (XXXIV.68)

There are also some unscannable lines, e.g. 'The one is the false woman who charged Joseph' (XXX.97).

A few other oddities may be mentioned. The third person singular of the present tense sometimes has the usual, sometimes the '-th' ending, which gives an untidy effect. Francesca says: 'But if to understand the earliest rootlet / Of this our love' (V.124-5), the diminutive being essential to the metre. The Ugolino canto starts with the terrible line: 'He raised his mouth from the terrific morsel'. The last four lines of the poem are rather banal:

We clambered up, he first and I behind him,
Till I caught sight of some of the fair objects
Which heaven holdeth, through a round pertusion;
And we emerged, to see once more the planets.

In two places Lee-Hamilton's delicacy only serves to underline Dante's crudeness. For XXI.139 he writes 'And he had made a trumpet of . . .'; while XXVIII.24 is 'Ripped downward from the chin to where one (. . .)eth'. One or two short passages will serve to show these numerous faults in combination with the flatness which pervades the whole translation.

Then said my Leader: 'Charon, don't get angry;
It thus is willed where all that's willed can straightway
Be carried out; so ask for nothing further.'
And thereupon the woolly cheeks grew quiet
Of that same boatman of the livid marshes,
Around whose eyes were gathered fiery circles.
But all those souls, that were worn-out and naked,
Changed colour, and they gnashed their teeth together
So soon they heard the cruel words he uttered;

Blaspheming against God and their own parents,
Against mankind, space, time - yea, and the sowing
Of their seed's seed and of their own begettings.
Then all of them departed in a body
With mighty weeping to the evil margin
That waiteth each that feels for God no terror. (III.94-108)

'The first of those 'bout whom thou fain wouldst gather
Some information' - so he then addressed me -
'Was once the empress of a many idioms.
To lechery's vice she was so much addicted,
That, in her law, she made the lustful lawful,
To wipe away the blame she was incurring. (V.52-7)

Now they had waked; and th' hour was approaching
At which the food had hitherto been brought us;
And from his vision, each of us was doubting.
And then I heard them locking, down below us,
The frightful tower's door; at which I fastened
My eyes on my sons' faces without speaking.
I did not weep, inside I grew so stony;
But they were weeping; and my sweet small Anselm
Said, 'Father, thou art staring so: what is it?'
Yet still I shed no tear, nor did I answer
All through that day, nor yet the night that followed,
Till the next sun came forth upon the world there. (XXIII.43-54)

As to Lee-Hamilton's accuracy, he is free from glaring mistranslations; occasionally he has misunderstood the meaning, often he simply gives it a wrong twist. 'And seemed with that mere effort to be weary' does not convey the sense of 'e sol di quell' angoscia pareva lasso' (IX.84). XI.31-2 reads 'Gainst God . . . / Can fraud be used' where 'fraud' is an obvious slip for some word to render the 'forza' of the Italian. It is not easy to know whether XX.16-18 has been understood:

Perhaps it was through power of the palsy
That some had thus been twisted round completely,
But that I didn't see, nor do I think it.

Another slip occurs in XXVII.1-3, where 'e già da noi sen già' is rendered 'and we were leaving'. The significance of the cloud passing over the Carisenda is obscured because 'che ella incontro penda' (XXXI.136-8) is translated 'so that its leaning is inverted'. 'Living I am; and glad be thou to hear it' is incorrect for 'Vivo son io, e caro esser ti pote'

(XXXII.91). Weakening of Dante's forceful expressions by paraphrase is frequent, e.g. in XVIII.42 we have 'Of this man's face I'm not without experience'; while the opening of canto XXXI is poor:

One selfsame tongue proceeded first to sting me,
So that it put in both my cheeks a colour,
And then it reapplied the healing balsam.

The similar metaphor in XXIV.16-18 is no better:

So even did the Master make me wonder
When I observed his brow to grow so clouded,
And when the evil got its balm so quickly.

It is really impossible to select a sustained passage of any value from Lee-Hamilton. One or two short pieces that seem above his general average may be mentioned. He manages the simile of XXI.25-9 better than some translators:

Then I turned round, as might a man desirous
To see a thing which it were well to flee from,
And whom a terror suddenly unmanneth;
Who, fain to see, delayeth not departure.

Virgil's speech in XXIV.46-57 is fairly good, though it has one or two of the prevalent faults:

'It now behoveth thee to shake thy sloth off,'
The Master said; 'for if we lie in feathers
We never reach to fame, nor under quilting,
Without the which, he who consumeth lifetime
Leaveth such trace of self upon the earth here
As smoke in air, or foam upon the water.
And therefore get thee up, o'ercome the anguish
With such a soul as winneth every battle
Unless it yieldeth to its heavy body.
A longer stair thou now wilt have to clamber;
'Tis not enough that those are left behind us:
If thou dost hear me, see that it avail thee.'

The metamorphosis of XXV.58-66 is well done:

Never was ivy so securely rooted
To trunk of tree, as that terrific creature
Then intertwined its own limbs with another's.
Then they cohered together, as if fashioned
Of heated wax, and intermixed their colours,
And neither seemed itself now any longer:

Just as, before the flame, there creepeth upward
Along a burning paper, a brown colour
Which is not black as yet, while the white dieth.

The period in which Lee-Hamilton wrote was one of experiment in Dante translation; there had already been the stanzas of Parsons, Wilstach, Shadwell and Musgrave and the octosyllabic terza rima of Auchmuty. While Lee-Hamilton was at work, Samuel Home in Swansea and Sir Samuel Walker Griffith in Australia were working quite independently on hendecasyllabic versions. No doubt the attempt was inevitable sooner or later; but although the results should give ample proof of its being a forlorn cause, we shall see that delusion as to feminine endings being desirable persists to the present time.

The press dealt with Lee-Hamilton briefly and harshly. The Athenaeum (12th March 1898, p. 339), after remarking that a succession of feminine endings is intolerable in English, said that so far as it went the version was 'adequate but pedestrian'. The Saturday Review (12th March 1898, p. 370) was severer; it found that the translation was 'neither rhymed nor blank verse' and that 'the effect is monstrous', concluding that 'Lee-Hamilton has completely disproved his theory that the feminine ending is essential to the translation of the Divine Comedy'.

Lee-Hamilton's draft of the Purgatorio is now MS. d.15 in the Toynbee Collection at the Bodleian Library. Correspondence accompanying it shows that it was sent to Toynbee by Miss Violet Paget, the translator's half-sister, on 13th September 1921, along with a letter from Signor Mario Praz whose opinion had been sought, evidently with some hope that the version might be published. Signor Praz's letter, preserved with the others, is dated from Florence, 8th May 1921, and is in eulogistic terms:

e/ . . . mi pare che il pubblico inglese potrebbe trarre gran vantaggio della sua pubblicazione. Il movimento della terzina è conservato, l'ordine delle parole è altrato il meno possibile: la versione è quasi letterale. Non conosco che d'eguggite le altre traduzioni in inglese di Dante, ma questa mi sembra eccellente.

Probably Signor Praz was not at that time so well acquainted with English literature as he has since shown himself. No record of Toynbee's verdict remains, but obviously publication could only have taken place at private expense.

The manuscript is a very untidy one, consisting of sheets from a number of cheap note-books sewn together, full of erasures, second thoughts, marginal notes, etc. Even if it could be deciphered and put together, its style shows no improvement on that of the Inferno, and its effect would probably be even more monotonous. As a sample Purg. III.121-35 is quoted below.

Frightful had been the sum of my transgressions,
But Mercy Infinite hath arms so ample

That it accepteth all that turns towards it.

If but Cosenza's shepherd, who to hunt me

Had been induced by Clement, at that moment

Had by God's mercy rightly read these features,

My body's bones would to this day be lying

There at the bridgehead, near to Benevento,

'Neath the protection of the heavy stone heap.

Now the rain wets them, and the wind upsets them

Outside the kingdom, by the banks of Verde,

Whither he had them moved, with lights extinguished.

But spite their curse we never lose so wholly

The Eternal Love, but what we may regain it

So long as hope retaineth still some greenness.

PHILIP HENRY WICKSTEED

5/ The Paradiso of Dante Alighieri. 1899. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., Aldine House, London, W.C. Pott octavo, pp. 419. Text (Italian and English on facing pages, latter divided into prose terzine), with argument at head and notes at end of each canto, rubrics in outer margins, pp. 2-409; Note on Dante's Paradise, pp. 410-13; quotation from Bernard, p. 414; General Editorial Note, p. 415; Editorial Note, pp. 416-18; Index to maps, etc., p. 419. There is a half-tone reproduction of Botticelli's drawing for canto III as frontispiece, and there are two diagrams, ten maps and two genealogical tables in the text.

This is a volume in the series 'Temple Classics'. There have been numerous reprints; the publishers' chronology shows that the type was re-set for the fourteenth edition in 1931, and there have been subsequent reprints in 1936, 1941, 1946 and 1950.

Philip Henry Wicksteed (1844-1927) was the second son of the Rev. Charles Wicksteed, a Unitarian minister then resident in Leeds. When Philip was nearly ten years of age his father, suffering from both physical and mental strain, felt obliged to resign from the ministry; the family moved to Hafod-y-Coed in the Vale of Clwyd, where the boy acquired that love of the country which was later to make him spend the closing years of his life in rural surroundings. For six years he attended Ruthin Grammar School; thence he proceeded to University College School in London, from there to University College itself and later to Manchester New College, taking his M.A. in 1867 and being runner-up for the gold medal in Classics. He had long decided to enter the Unitarian ministry, and during the next few years he held charges at Taunton and Dukinfield. In 1874 he succeeded Martineau as minister of Little Portland Street Chapel, London, where he remained until 1897; in that year he resigned his charge and went to live at Childrey Manor, near Wantage, which was his home for the rest of his life. He had by no means retired; his activities in writing and lecturing were immense, and continued for some twenty years. His domestic life was a happy one; at the age of twenty-three

he married Rebecca Solly, daughter of a Unitarian minister; the union lasted more than fifty-five years and they had a family of eight.

These few facts are quite inadequate to convey any notion of Wicksteed's amazing intellectual grasp and tempestuous energy; indeed the attempt can hardly be made here. Classical scholar, brilliant mathematician and economist, philosopher and linguist - he was all these, besides a hard-working and devoted pastor, an earnest and impressive preacher, and an indefatigable missionary in the cause of culture in the broadest sense. He learned Dutch in order to study the work of Kuenen and his school, and translated from that language The Bible for Young People by Cort and Hooykas, published in six volumes in the seventies. He was the associate of Mrs Humphrey Ward in the Hall of Liberal Theology. He was the champion of Ibsen when almost the whole British press was hysterically abusing A Doll's House and Ghosts. He recognised the significance of Stanley Jevons' theory of value, mastered it and developed it, and converted, among others, George Bernard Shaw. In a signed obituary notice, published in the Times on 25th March 1927, Shaw says that he himself was 'put up by the British Socialists as their champion' to repel Wicksteed's attack on Marx, and

the controversy ended in my education and conversion by my opponent, and the disappearance of the Marxian theory of value from the articles of faith of British Socialism.

But it is useless in a short space to try to do justice to the subject; fortunately there is a permanent record of it. Among Wicksteed's many friends, a group which included some of the most distinguished thinkers of the age, was C. H. Herford, who near the end of his life wrote a biography and appreciation, Philip Henry Wicksteed: his Life and Work (London, 1931), with a foreword by Mr Joseph H. Wicksteed and an authoritative chapter on the subject's economic work by Lionel Robbins. The appendix includes a list

of Wicksteed's University Extension courses (only one part of his lecturing activity) covering a period of some twenty years and occupying nine pages of small type; the subjects range from Greek tragedy and philosophy to Wordsworth, and from Dante to the First Principles of Currency. For some time before his death Wicksteed was engaged in a translation of Aristotle's Physics; his last days were spent in a valiant effort to complete it, and it was later published, revised and edited by Francis M. Cornford, in the Loeb Classics.

Even to catalogue Wicksteed's contributions to the study of Dante is too formidable a task to be undertaken here; but once again Herford's complete and well-arranged bibliography gives a notion of its extent. It began with his Six Sermons (1879, and frequently reprinted) and ended with From Vita Nova to Paradiso (1922), consisting of two essays on the relations between Dante's successive works. It included translations of the Paradiso, the Convivio and all but one of the Latin works, also of Witte's Essays on Dante, parts of Villani's Chronicle, and some of the Early Lives of Dante. In collaboration with Edmund G. Gardner he published Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio; while his Jowett Lectures of 1911 appeared in book form as Dante and Aquinas. It must be borne in mind that in this department of his work as in all others, Wicksteed was a thoroughly competent theologian and philosopher, abreast of the most recent developments, and capable of independent and constructive thought - by no means to be labelled, as ~~Wicks~~ Herford points out, merely a 'populariser of Dante'.

None the less, the popularisation of Dante was an important and deliberate part of his work, because he believed that the modern world needed Dante; and his plan made it essential that Dante's works, with aids to their comprehension, should be readily available in some convenient and inexpensive

form. Wicksteed therefore was an enthusiastic collaborator with Herrmann Oelsner and Thomas Okey and the then youthful publishing house of Dent, in launching the 'Temple Classics' edition of Dante's works, the six pocket volumes of which contain not only the Italian text with a literal prose translation in English, but a wealth of explanatory matter, maps, diagrams, genealogical tables, etc., which enable even the complete beginner to make his way intelligently through the medieval labyrinth. The 'Temple Classics' edition is probably by far the most popular complete translation of Dante ever published. It has commended itself to scholar and general reader alike for its inexpensiveness, convenience, comprehensiveness and reliability, and testimonials to its value have been numerous and enthusiastic. Besides producing the Paradiso volume in its entirety, Wicksteed wrote the longer notes at the end of the other two volumes of the Comedy, the arguments for Okey's version of the Purgatorio, and was responsible for most of the diagrams. Reference has already been made to the revision of Carlyle's Inferno for this series; Okey's Purgatorio forms the subject of a separate article.

The Paradiso was the first of the Dante volumes in the series to appear, and in his Editorial Note at the end Wicksteed set forth his aim and principles.

The preceding translation of the Paradiso was undertaken for the sole purpose of enabling the publisher to bring out a cheap edition of the text, accompanied with an English version. It claims no merit except having accomplished this purpose. Still less does it claim any superiority over its predecessors, or wish to enter into rivalry with them. The translator has attempted first and foremost to satisfy himself as to the author's exact meaning, and then to express it (1) precisely, (2) with lucidity, (3) worthily, (4) with as close adherence to the vocabulary and syntax of the original as English idiom allows. He has consciously adopted a happy turn of expression in one passage from Mr Norton's translation, and in two cases he has borrowed words he had not himself been fortunate enough to hit upon from Mr Butler. The many other coincidences with these (and doubtless other) translations arise, to the best of his belief, independently.

So far as accuracy was concerned, Wicksteed's conscientious scholarship is a guarantee of fidelity. There are, of course, those odd cases where the

translator must choose one of two alternative readings or interpretations, and here we may disagree; but in Wicksteed's case we can be sure that his decisions were never made lightly, and they always deserve our consideration. Investigation of one or two passages where at first reading his phraseology seemed odd has resulted in his justification being found, and has sometimes contributed towards a fuller understanding of the original.

The adoption of Carlyle's translation of half a century earlier for the *Inferno* in the Temple Classics edition was partly due to the fact that it was constructed on principles such as the editors had in view, having been designed primarily for reading in conjunction with the Italian text, and being readily separable into *terzine* so that it could be printed in the required form. Presumably the editors also thought the language suitable, and felt that its flavour of Biblical archaism was fitting for the prose reproduction of Dante. It is therefore not surprising to find that the other two volumes, besides employing such inversions as might contribute towards the elucidation of the Italian, are decidedly archaic in vocabulary and syntax. A mild archaism had been used by Norton in his prose version, as distinct from the more definitely prosaic style of Butler. Wicksteed, however, went far beyond a mere archaic flavour, as a comparison of the extracts in Appendix I with those of the other translations mentioned will show. The use of the second person singular automatically begins the process, and to this is added the consistent use of third person presents in '-th' and the regular imitation of seventeenth century idioms and constructions. The result is a very highly stylised version, in which the second of his desiderata, lucidity, seems sometimes to be lost sight of. Compared with Carlyle's rugged diction, Wicksteed's style seems to savour of pastiche; and in recommending the Temple Classics to beginners the

American translator, Melville Best Anderson, remarked that while Carlyle's *Inferno* was excellent, the two other renderings were 'less commendable'. The same difference has been felt by other readers.

Take, for instance, I.21, 'della vagina delle membra sue', 'from (out) the sheath (or scabbard) of his limbs', as it has been frequently translated: it is difficult to see why Wicksteed should turn this to 'from out what sheathed his limbs'. There are many other expressions which strike one as strange and which are in no sense an attempt to make a parallel to the Italian. 'Devoutly as I most may' = 'sì devoto / quant' esser posso più' (II.46) is just not English. Again in XVII.25-6 we have: 'Wherefore my will were well content to hear what the disaster drawing high me', where the Italian has a finite verb, 'qual fortuna mi s'appressa' just as in normal English, 'what fortune approaches me'. Nor is every imitation of the Italian word order desirable. If the latter is normal or approximately so, the English should likewise be normal. There is nothing peculiar about 'qual Giovanni, qual prender vuoi', but 'that John whichso thou please to take' is very peculiar English. A more difficult case is 'O padre suo veramente Felice' (XII.79); the expression is not unnatural in Italian, but there is no corresponding English which can get in both the interjection and the possessive neatly. Norton and several others have 'O father of him', which is clumsy, but passable in the circumstances; Butler with 'O Felix in very truth his father' is neater. But Wicksteed's 'O father his, Felice in good sooth' is neither the one nor the other; we can say a paternoster in English but not a 'Father our'. Equally absurd is 'more far' for 'più avanti'. This tendency even causes a Latin construction to be used when it is not in the Italian, e.g. 'per cessar fatica o rischio' (XXV.133) is rendered 'to avert or weariness or peril'. The habit of archaism grows also; why, for instance,

say 'setting a-moving eyes that erst were steady' (XV.15) when you can say 'moving eyes that were steady before'? Why 'known of God' when you mean 'known to (or by) God'? In verse 'meseemed' or 'anigh' might be dragged in by the exigencies of metre, but what justification is there for them in prose? Hyphenation of an odd kind is another trick of Wicksteed's. There might be some reason for 'up-built', 'down-cometh', 'o'er-rayeth', but it is difficult to account for 'things-to-see' = 'parvenze' (XIV.71) or 'not-to-be-derided' (IV.57), where Norton has the same words unhyphenated, especially since there is no consistency in this matter. There are a few doubtful word choices, e.g. 'reeketh perfume of praise' = 'redole / odor di lode' (XXX.125-6). In the last canto 'outrage' does not seem a good rendering of 'oltraggio' in line 57, nor does 'so long that I wearied my sight thereon' appeal as an equivalent for 'tanto che la veduta vi consunsi' in line 84.

We have already had occasion to refer to the difficulty of avoiding a persistent iambic rhythm in the prose of translation. This is very noticeable in many parts of Wicksteed's version, so that we get passages like XXI.106-11, which can be divided, without alteration, into two blank terzine, thus:

Twixt the two shores of Italy crags arise,
and not far distant from thy fatherland,
so high the thunders sound far lower down,
and make a hump whose name is Catria,
'neath which a hermitage is consecrate,
which erst was given only unto prayer.

It is interesting to note that twenty years earlier Wicksteed included numerous original prose translations of short passages from the Comedy in his Six Sermons, and these are written in a different style. Of course, their purpose was different; he remarks in the preface to the volume

mentioned that the translations are 'sometimes paraphrastic, and virtually contain glosses or interpretations. . . . For the most part the renderings are substantially my own; but I have freely availed myself of numerous translation, without special acknowledgment, whenever they supplied me with suitable phrases.' Below is the Six Sermons rendering of Par. III. 80-87 for comparison with the Temple Classics version given in Appendix I.

Brother, the power of love so lulls our will, it makes us long for nought but what we have, and feel no other thirst. If we should wish to be exalted more, our wish would be discordant with His will who here assigned us; and that may not be within these spheres, as thou thyself mayst see, knowing that here we needs must dwell in love, and thinking what love is. Nay, 'tis inherent in this blessedness to hold ourselves within the will Divine, whereby our wills are one. That we should be thus rank by rank throughout this realm ordained, rejoices all the realm e'en as its King, who draws our wills in His. And His decree is our peace. It is that sea to which all things are moved which it creates and all that nature forges.

I am indebted to Mr Joseph H. Wicksteed (in the course of private correspondence) for some recollections of his father's outlook and methods. He recalls once suggesting to his father that 'book' would be simpler and better in one passage of the Paradiso than 'volume'; the suggestion did not meet with the translator's approval, but later he 'was gently amused, and admitted that he had allowed himself to think of his translation as the real thing that should not be interfered with'. Mr Wicksteed goes on:

What strikes you as what I might call over-stylisation in his translation of Dante's Paradiso was part of a deliberate attempt to capture not merely the subtle meaning but the not less subtle rhythm and cadences that pulsed for him in every line and stanza of the original. In reading poetry he made himself as it were the instrument upon which the music was played.

From this it seems likely that ever and anon Wicksteed forgot all about the principles he had enunciated, and became intent upon reproducing his own total impression of a terzina, finding words that provided in some way the same sense of satisfaction which he felt when he read the Italian. It can readily be seen that success in the latter aim might well be accompanied

by failure in the primary one, for the needs of the student in his early acquaintance with the Comedy are different from those of the ripe scholar for whom the poem has become a kind of personal possession.

The following short passages show Wicksteed at his best, and give some indication of how he realised, partially at least, his various aims.

Towards Spain it wheeled the host, then towards Durazzo, and so smote
Pharsalia that to hot Nile was felt the woe.
Antandros and Simois, whence it first came, it saw once more, and saw
the spot where Hector lieth couched; and then (alas for Ptolemy!)
ruffled itself again;
thereafter swooped in lightning upon Juba, then wheeled towards your
west, where it heard the Pompeian trumpet.
For what it wrought with the succeeding marshal, Brutus and Cassius
howl in hell; and Modena and Perugia it made doleful.
Yet doth wail for it the wretched Cleopatra, who, as she fled before
it, caught from the viper sudden and black death.
With him it coursed unto the Red-Sea shore, with him it set the world
in so deep peace that Janus saw his temple barred upon him.
(VI.64-81)

And as we see a spark within a flame, and as a voice within a voice
may be distinguished, if one stayeth firm, and the other cometh
and goeth;
so in that light itself I perceived other torches moving in a circle
more and less swift, after the measure, I suppose, of their eternal
vision.
From a chill cloud there ne'er descended blasts, or visible or no, so
rapidly as not to seem hindered and lagging
to whoso should have seen those lights divine advance towards us,
quitting the circling that hath its first beginning in the exalted
Seraphim.
(VIII.16-27)

Within its depths I saw ingathered, bound by love in one volume,
the scattered leaves of all the universe;
substance and accidents and their relations, as though together fused,
after such fashion that what I tell of is one simple flame.
The universal form of this complex I think that I beheld, because
more largely, as I say this, I feel that I rejoice.
A single moment maketh a deeper lethargy for me than twenty and
five centuries have wrought on the emprise that erst threw Neptune
in amaze at Argo's shadow.
(XXXIII.85-96)

When in 1932 Charles Hall Grandgent was responsible for producing a new American edition of Dante in English, he selected the Temple Classics translations as providing 'the most valuable prose version of Dante'.. He has previously praised Norton's rendering, with the qualifying remark that

it was 'scarcely comprehensible alone'. In the Introduction to The Carlyle-Wicksteed Translation (New York, 1932) he writes that his choice was made after careful consideration; and that the version selected is 'clear, dignified and accurate, in simple idiomatic prose. It can be readily followed without any reference to the original Italian text.'

Successive reading of a number of passages in the respective versions of Butler, Norton and Wicksteed indicates that Grandgent's decision had much to recommend it. Despite its mannerisms and occasional eccentricities, Wicksteed's translation does read well as a whole. In appraising such versions, however, it must be remembered that personal predilection plays a considerable part; in the nature of things the resemblances between prose translations are very close, often amounting to virtual identity. Very various opinions as to relative merit have been given by highly competent judges; which brings us back to the anomaly that the very competence of the judges, involving as it does direct acquaintance with the original, tends to disqualify them from imagining the impact on the reader who does not have such acquaintance.

A feature of Wicksteed's translation, and indeed of the whole Temple Classics Comedy, is the arguments which precede each canto. Those in the Inferno are in the main as originally written by Carlyle, who introduced each canto with an explanatory paragraph, going beyond what is normally reckoned the scope of an argument. This idea was happily extended by Wicksteed in writing the arguments for the Purgatorio and Paradiso. At the end of his volume he stresses this point.

The notes at the end of each canto are to be taken in close conjunction with the arguments which, when carefully read, will be found to contain, directly or by implication, many explanations that the reader may perhaps have looked for in vain in the notes.

The reader would do well to heed this warning, although, unfortunately, he may never see it, since it is hidden away among the end matter at the back of the book along with other items that are normally found in the preliminary pages. Some of these arguments, like that to Par. XXXIII, amount to short essays, and are designed to set all the parts in perspective and assist the student to a comprehension of the Comedy as a whole. The notes themselves, partly for the reason stated above by their author, and partly owing to the exigencies of space, are at times a trifle bald; this is probably what Melville Best Anderson had in mind when he said that they were 'often wanting in urbanity'. An unusual tribute to these notes is paid by Alice Curtayne in her book A Recall to Dante (London, 1932); she repeatedly expresses her disapproval of the anti-Catholic trend of most English writing on Dante, but the Temple Classics translations have her whole-hearted blessing, for she finds that 'only one note in the whole production shows that the annotator is a non-Catholic'.

ARTHUR COMPTON AUCHMUTY

Purgatory. A Translation from Dante in Octosyllabic Terza Rima by Arthur Compton Auchmuty. Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London; 20 South Frederick Street, Edinburgh; and 7 Broad Street, Oxford. 1899. Crown octavo, pp. 189. Apart from the title pages the book contains only the English text, printed in terzine, without arguments or notes, pp. 7-189.

Arthur Compton Auchmuty (1842-1917) was of Irish extraction, being the second son of the Rev. Samuel Forbes Auchmuty of Blunsdon, Wilts., who in turn was the son of Samuel Forbes of Ballymahon, County Longford. Arthur was sent to Lincoln College, Oxford, where he obtained a second in Greats (1863-5) and distinguished himself as Newdigate prize winner. He took holy orders, was ordained by the Bishop of Peterborough in 1872, and became vicar of Lucton, Herefordshire, and headmaster of Lucton Grammar School in the following year. He resigned the latter office in 1882, retaining the former till 1905; after his retirement he resided first in Birmingham and later in Liverpool. His quiet life was punctuated by a series of publications at long intervals. As early as 1869 he had a book of original verse printed at Exeter; his prize poem, Julian the Apostate, was published at Oxford in 1872; a first volume of sermons appeared in 1876 and a second in 1887. In 1882 Kegan Paul published an anthology, Poems of English Heroism, edited and annotated by him; in 1894 came Oedipus at Colonus, an English version of Sophocles' tragedy described as 'An experiment in metre'. His translation of Dante followed in 1899; a pamphlet, Four Sonnets for the Times, in 1900; and finally in 1908 a volume of Gems from Henry George which he had selected and arranged.

One naturally feels curious about the poem which won the Newdigate. Julian the Apostate is a solemn composition in heroic couplets, sprinkled

with occasional Alexandrines, very much in the style of the previous century, hardly sparkling enough to be called an imitation of Pope, rather similar in manner to Johnson's Vanity of Human Wishes. It maintains a respectable level throughout, and the following extract is an adequate sample.

- What though in him the world had won a mind
Ardent, majestic, pure above his kind;
What though to her his promise all was paid,
Though all her hopes were lavishly obeyed; -
Full sadly true the bard's rude numbers flowed:
'Faithful to man he lived, but false to God!'

It is Auchmuty's Oedipus at Colonus, dedicated to R. C. Jebb, although described as an experiment, resembles his later Dante experiment in containing no explanation of any kind. The dialogue is in blank verse, and the experiment seems to lie in the choric odes which are in irregular unrhymed strophes, although it is not easy to make out what the translator is trying to accomplish. The following is his version of a well-known passage which we have already quoted from an earlier Dante translator.

Stranger, lo! in this steed-renown'd
land arrived, thou hast found earth's dearest shelter:
Our white-gleaming Colonus, where
she, the clear-throated, trills her plaint, -
The sweet nightingale, - haunts she most
here, deep buried in green glades.
The dark wine-coloured ivy here,
hers the god's unapproached bower,
Myriad in fruitage and berry, un-sun-
lighted, un-wind-disturb'd when storm blasts
Rage all round, where the lord of wine,
lord of mirth, Dionysus, rangeth still, 'mong
Th' young goddesses once who nursed him.

More interesting is the broadside of 1900, published in the heat of the jingoism produced by the Boer War. The last of the four sonnets is worth quoting. The King's printers had issued to churches an injudiciously worded collect for war-time use, asserting a belief in 'the justice of our cause' and inviting divine co-operation. Auchmuty rejoined:

Our cause is just - that we believe - and Thou
Only canst make it prosper, wherefore learn
Hereby what our belief is. All must turn
On this, that Thou attend, when we avow
Thus plainly our belief. Attend, then, now.
Others may deem our cause unjust; but spurn
Their judgment: we, Thou know'st, can best discern
These niceties for Thee: Thine remains to bow.
To prosper the just cause to Thee alone
Pertains: Thou merely waitest our award,
On which side, ours or theirs, the justice lies.
Well, now Thou hast it, now at least 'tis known
What we believe about it: therefore, rise,
And scatter quick our enemies, O Lord.

It is evident from this that the writer would relish Dante's polemical passages.

Auchmuty's *Purgatorio* is an experiment of some daring, for it renders Dante *terzina* by *terzina*, in the rhyme scheme of the original, but in lines of eight syllables (the rhymes are masculine throughout) instead of ten or eleven. Although the translator has made no defence of his system, there can be little doubt that he adopted this measure because English requires fewer syllables than Italian, and some decasyllabic versions had been notoriously padded out. While criticising him on other counts, Professor

G. L. Bickersteth (On Translating Dante) observes:

Nevertheless Auchmuty's is a remarkable achievement and well illustrates the natural terseness of the English tongue; for he omits nothing of the original.

This is an exaggeration, for quite occasionally Auchmuty has to omit or compress; but it must be granted that he leaves out very little. His syllabic equivalence is, however, gained at a heavy price. His effort may be commended as gallant, spirited and ingenious, but it is foredoomed to failure from the very start. It is not too much to say that there are not three consecutive *terzine* in the whole poem in which the hopelessness of the attempt is not emphatically demonstrated. Admittedly octosyllabic

metres have been used to produce excellent results, and by writers as various as Butler, Swift, Prior and Scott; just as Goethe raised the Knüttelvers to incredible heights in Faust. Octosyllables can be narrative, dramatic, satiric, humorous, and many other things; but as a vehicle for Dante's *terzine* they are quite impossible.

Not only is the recurrence of the ~~trip~~ triple rhymes at such short intervals intolerably irksome, but the difficulty of finding rhymes is greatly increased. One of the reasons why it has been possible at all to produce even such passable imitations of Dante's measure as we possess in English, is that the decasyllable, with its slightly increased sense-content as compared with the Italian hendecasyllable, gives the translator just sufficient space to work in a slight change of construction, an infinitive instead of a preterite, say, or a singular instead of a plural, to suit the rhyme. Eight-syllable lines allow no such freedom; again and again the right word is just a syllable too long, and the wrong one must be used instead. To take just one instance, in *Purg. XXVII.10-15* we have:

Poscia 'Più non si va, si' pria non morde, e/
anime sante, il foco: intrate in esso,
ed al cantar di là non siate sorde'
ci disse come noi li fummo presso;
per ch' io divenni tal, quando lo 'ntesi,
qual è colui che nella fossa è messo.

For the lines ending in 'presso - messo' the English 'said - laid' have been obvious enough to be adopted by over half-a-dozen translators into *terza rima*; several others have used one or other of these two words. No corresponding rhyme leaps to the mind for line 11; every one has adopted a different expedient, the best being Binyon's 'enter unafraid'. On the other hand a much larger number of translators have used other rhyming words; several have managed to use 'grave' as the terminal word of line 15, but

have only provided rhymes by feats which might be called gymnastic. For Auchmuty, however, there is really no alternative; he has no room for any recasting; 'said' and 'laid' are unavoidable. Here is what he produces:

Then: 'Whom alone the Fire hath stung,
Saint souls, goes further; in, then, wade,
Nor deaf be to yon tuneful tongue.'
When we were near him, thus he said,
Whence I became, when that I learned,
Like him who in the grave is laid.

The second *terzina* is pedestrian but passable; the first is merely ludicrous. 'Saint souls' and 'tuneful tongue' are bad enough, but 'wade' adds the final touch of grotesqueness.

Apart from the rhyming difficulty, the octosyllabic lines make the use of short words essential, often producing staccato or cacophonous effects, and making any verbal parallel to Dante's effects impossible, e.g. (III.121-3):

Horrible the evils I had wrought:
But Goodness Infinite so wide
Hath arms, that nought turns there for nought,

or (IX.139-45):

At the first peal attent I stood,
And seemed Te Deum to hear sung,
Voices and notes in mingled flood.
Such image back to me was flung
From what I heard, as takes the ear
When to the organ chants the tongue;
The words by fits we lose and hear.

The organ roll has vanished, and a kind of barrel-organ rhythm has taken its place.

The necessity for compression within the octosyllable also causes the frequent omission of particles, conjunctions, etc., or the substitution of less accurate words when they are shorter, and this plays havoc with some of the more difficult passages by introducing a further element of obscurity. Virgil's explanation of why the sun is seen to the north is far from lucid in Auchmuty, and Dante's reply still less so (IV.76-84):

'Truly, my Master,' I replied,
Ne'er saw I yet as now so nigh,
Where seem'd my wit's full scope denied,
How the Mid-arc of Motion high, -
Which certain learn'd "Equator" name, -
That still 'twixt Frost and Sun doth lie,
Parts hence as far North, for that same
Reason thou say'st, as Jews, in turn,
Saw it that side the heavens o'erflame.

Statius' explanation of how the purified soul rises would hardly convey much without reference to the Italian (XXI.58-66):

It trembles, when from sin so clear
Finds it some Soul, it soars, or moves
For mounting, and such cry we hear.
'Tis Will alone the pureness proves;
Which, free to seek new mates, the soul
Takes, and all bar to flight removes.
First will, good, doth a higher control;
Which, strong as that once set to sin,
God's justice now sets on the dole.

While it is on the whole true that, as Professor Bickersteth says, that Auchmuty omits nothing of Dante, he very often gets it all in by methods that savour of a conjuring trick rather than of translation. For instance XX.88-90,

Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso;
veggio rinovellar l'aceto e 'l fele,
e tra vivi ladroni esser anciso,

becomes:

Lo, once again the mock-bow'd knees!
Again, the vinegar, the gall!
The thieves, the death, the accursed trees!

The last line is doubtless a counsel of desperation, or Auchmuty would not have wasted three precious syllables on the word 'accursed' which is not in the original. But in any case he has lost the real point of the satire, for which a literal rendering of the Italian is necessary (this line is well dealt with by Moore, T.C. p. 395). Again (X.109-11) the original reads:

Non attender la forma del martire:
pensa la succession; pensa ch'al peggio,
oltre la gran sentenza non può ire,

and Auchmuty renders:

Not what its mode, but what ensues
The torment, think on: think, but end
At the great Doom no worst can choose.

The meaning of the last sentence is more likely to be inferred from the context than from the syntax.

The simile of the sheep in III.79-84 might be said to represent Auchmuty at his best, and amply illustrates the limitations of his method:

As forth from fold a sheep-flock goes,
By ones and twos and threes, the rest
Stand timid, stooping eyes and nose;
And all, if aught the first arrest,
Doing as she does, knowing nought
What for, crowd meek behind her press'd.

Once again there is meaning but no magic.

Auchmuty's rhymes are on the whole good and sufficient ones; he does not take undue licence. Occasionally he uses archaic forms, e.g. 'eyne', 'gat', etc., for the sake of the rhyme; sometimes he is forced into dubious expedients, the ugliest of which occurs at XX.73-5:

Unarm'd he goes, save with the lance
Of Judas' jousting; drives that home,
To burst thy bowels, poor Florénce!

He keeps for the most part to fairly common rhyming sounds, nearly always with a strong accent because of the preponderance of monosyllables, and their regular recurrence becomes oppressively monotonous.

Professor Bickersteth comments that in the satiric passages Auchmuty 'smacks of Hudibras'. This is perhaps inevitable and, since Auchmuty avoids Butler's worst mannerisms, at times effective, e.g. (XIV.103-11):

Marvel not, Tuscan, at my tears,
When Guy of Prata, Hugoline
Of Azzo, I recall, our peers;

Frederick Tignoso and his line;
The Travers' house, the Anástagni's,
Both sunk alike into decline:
The dames, the knights, the toils, the ease,
Kindling to love and courtesy;
Where hearts all malice now one sees.

Since Auchmuty's powers of original invective have already been demonstrated, a few lines from canto VI (85 ff) will be of interest.

Search thy sea-borders round, and then
Look, wretched one, within, - to find
No peace in thy remotest glen!
What, that Justinian's care refined
The harness, if no rider found?
There left he thee more shame behind.
Ah! Nation, to devotion bound,
And so let Caesar fill the seat, -
So in good ears God's lesson sound!

Times in thy memory not a few,
The law, the coin, the use, the place,
Reform'd hast thou, thy frame made new:
And, so thy mind seek light and grace,
Thou'lt find thee like that dame distrest,
Who on the down still turns her face,
To ward the pain, but cannot rest.

The passage from canto II reproduced in Appendix I may be regarded as representative and will further illustrate the points made. Auchmuty was a writer of considerable ingenuity, and had the faculty for experiment and invention, but perhaps his chief service to the cause of Dante translation is to have shown the futility of attempting to render the Divine Comedy in short lines. His deficiencies are in some respects identical with those which we have already noted in Shadwell, and his level of success reinforces our conclusions regarding the latter.

The Athenaeum reviewer (9th June 1900, p. 716) remarked that Auchmuty's *Purgatorio* 'can pass muster as an eccentricity, but hardly as anything more'.

SAMUEL HOME

The Purgatory of Dante. A New Translation in the Original Rhythm, by Samuel Home, LL.B. Oswestry: Woodall, Minshall, and Co., Caxton Press.

Part I. Cantos I to XVI. 1899. Royal octavo, pp. iv, 76. Proem, pp. iii-iv; English text, printed in terza rima, with short arguments and footnotes, pp. 1-76.

Part II. Cantos XVII to XXXI. 1901. Royal octavo, pp. 77-151. English text, uniform with part I.

The Purgatory of Dante. A New Translation, in the Rhythm of the Original, by Samuel Home, LL.B. Oswestry: Woodall, Minshall, and Co., Caxton Press. 1901. Royal octavo, iii, 151. Preface, p. iii; English text (identical with the individual parts), pp. 1-151.

Note: The separate parts were issued in paper covers; the complete volume in boards. The preface of the complete volume is quite different from the proem of Part I; otherwise however the text is identical, and probably consists of sheets printed at the same time as the parts, since the same misprints occur in both. No mention of the fact that the translation ends with canto XXXI is made on the title page of the complete volume, but it is mentioned in the preface.

Samuel Home (1842-1914) was a native of Shrewsbury. He was at one time resident in Oswestry, and may have held some judicial appointment there. His obituary notice in the Oswestry Advertiser states that fifty years earlier he was a member of their staff, i.e. when he was in his early twenties. No further explanation of his journalistic activities is given; the notice goes on to say:

Mr Home . . . followed the profession of the law, and about thirty years ago was appointed Registrar of the Swansea County Court, in which office he showed great ability, and distinguished himself by the soundness of his decisions, which, when they were appealed against, were, with scarcely an exception, upheld. He published various short volumes, one of which was entitled The Religion of Christ Non-Miraculous, and he was also the author of translations from Dante. Mr Home, who leaves a wife and several children, married the daughter of the well-known preacher, the Rev. Thomas Jones of Swansea.

It was at Swansea that Home died at the age of seventy-two. His con-

nexion with Oswestry is emphasised by the fact that, long after going to Swansea, he had his translation printed by his old firm there, for the proprietors of the Oswestry Advertiser are identical with the publishers of the *Purgatorio*. On making inquiries at the Caxton Press, as might be expected, no one could now remember anything at all about Home.

The book does not appear to have had any publicity; no reviews have been found; and there does not appear to be a copy in the British Museum. Toynbee in Britain's Tribute to Dante and Dante Studies (1921) records only the publication of the first part and the complete volume; in the former book he erroneously describes the latter as published in London. There is a complete set of the three books in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, whose librarian kindly lent them for inspection; and I possess a copy of Part II, picked up in Charing Cross Road. The only other copies I know of are Toynbee's own, now in the Bodleian.

In both the complete volume and in Part I line II.108 reads:

Wherewith thou once didst wont my words to solace,
and in both the copies inspected the word 'words' is scored out and 'moods' written above in ink; possibly this mistake was noticed before the copies were sent out. A similar misprint, apparently undetected, occurs in XXV.1:

Now the ascent no longer looked delaying,
where the sense obviously requires 'brook'd'. In one footnote reference '67' has been printed instead of '6-7'; apart from these minor points the book has been well revised, and punctuation is correct.

One typographical innovation might puzzle the casual reader. The arguments to each canto are enclosed in square brackets, and there is a footnote to the first on page 1 stating: 'The translator is responsible for these additions to the text'. The additions, however, are not confined

to the arguments; there are a number of interpolations also so enclosed, consisting of padding or glosses, worked into the blank verse, e.g. XIX.97-9:

And he: 'Why Heaven doth turn our backs upon it
Thou soon shalt know, but first' [he spake in Latin]
'Know that I was successor to St. Peter . . . ',

and similarly XXVI.139:

Frankly he answered [in the speech of Provence] (q sic)

Home displays a similar ingenuity when he anglicises the quotation from Psalm XXXI in XXX.82-4:

and suddenly the Angels
Chanted the Psalm: 'In thee, Lord, have I trusted,'
And at the words 'in a large room', they ended.

Most translators leave the words in Latin, but amongst those who have translated them, although Cary and others have got it right, there are quite a few, both before and after Home, who have left the angels suspended in the middle of a verse according to the Authorised Version by making them finish at 'my feet'.

Home's translation, described as being 'in the Original Rhythm', appears at first sight to be in hendecasyllabic blank verse, i.e. on the same principle as the versions of Lee-Hamilton and Griffiths. It is printed in terzine, and contains the same number of lines as the original, except that five cantos are a line short, owing in each case to the final four lines being contracted to three. Home's two prefaces, however, present us with an apparently insoluble problem as to his actual intention. In the proem to Part I, justifying his venture, he says:

In no existing English translation, so far as I am aware - certainly in none of the best known - is the musical rhythm of Dante preserved.

After remarking that blank verse is inadequate and terza rima impossible, he says that the only serious difficulty, from the ^{metr}critical point of view,

with which the English translator has to contend 'arises from the fact that English pronunciation, unlike Italian, requires that the master words of every sentence should be emphasised with a most contemptuous disregard of the rights of the minor words', adding that metrical emphasis on short words like 'and' or 'that' may change their meaning.

Consequently, where these or other minor words occur (as they constantly do) at the beginning of a verse . . . the translator must either recast the verse or allow the emphasis to fall upon the second syllable. . . . Whenever the second alternative has been adopted in the present version, the reader with an ear for rhythm is besought, by way of covering the metrical fault, to throw upon the first foot of the verse all the weight which it will possibly bear. The rhythm of Dante is of two varieties . . . and he then quotes as examples Inf. III.1-2 and Purg. I.4-6, adding that 'the present translation . . . follows the latter model'.

The foregoing is not very illuminating; but in the preface to the complete volume Home gives a different account of the matter:

The present is believed to be the only attempt which has ever been made to render the Purgatorio into English in the musical rhythm of Dante, though at least one translator, unconscious of what Carylye calls the 'lilt' of the poem, erroneously claims to have preserved the metre of the great original. Each Dantesque triplet is, in fact, a Sapphic stanza without the final verse; and whatever may be the defects of the present translation, I trust that something has been gained in charm by substituting the pleasant swing of the Sapphic metre for the heroics or blank verse in which nearly all former English versions are cast. To this extent, at any rate, the reader is brought nearer to Dante.

In the next paragraph he repeats his earlier assertion that to preserve terza rima is impossible, and adds that 'it has, therefore, not been attempted in a version which aims at the most minute fidelity'.

What Home is getting at is not at all clear. One might suppose at first reading that he was trying to reproduce the accentual pattern of the Italian in every line, but that is not the case. To give, for instance, his rendering of I.4-6, quoted as the 'model' which he follows:

Sing I henceforward of that second kingdom,
Where human spirits from their sins are purg'd,
And become worthy to ascend to Heaven,

which may be compared with the corresponding Italian:

E canterò di quel secondo regno
dove l'humano spirito si purga
e di salir al ciel diventa degno.

Indeed, ~~except~~ for a few unscannable lines, such as almost every translator produces occasionally, anyone who had not read the prefaces would imagine, as the writer certainly did through coming on Part II some time before the other volumes, that Home was following the same principle as Lee-Hamilton.

In his proem Home gives an English version of Inf. III.1-2, viz.

Through me one goes to the city of sorrow,
Through me one goes to the dolour eternal.

Lee-Hamilton has here:

Through me ye go within the aching City;
Through me ye go to everlasting Anguish.

But it seems quite likely that Lee-Hamilton, whose *Inferno* was published in 1898, is the translator referred to in Home's 1901 preface as being 'unconscious of the "lilt" of the poem'; the preamble to the former's *Inferno* certainly implies such a claim as Home rejects. Moreover the introduction of 'Sapphics' is a complication. Was Home in 1901 expressing more clearly the idea which had been in his mind in 1899, or had the comparison of the Italian hendecasyllable and the Sapphic line only come to his notice in the interval? The derivation of Dante's *terzine* from medieval hymns in Sapphic form has been canvassed (the matter is examined in Spoerri's *Einführung*), and it is possible that Home had read something contemporary on the subject, then extended the analogy to cover the prosodic structure. If so, it is doubtful whether his acquaintance with the Sapphic form went beyond English imitations of the type of Cowper's 'Man disavows and deity

disowns me'. A considerable proportion of the lines in his *Purgatorio* can be read and scanned on this basis, e.g. 'Like unto one who, having lost the pathway' (I.119) is an echo of Cowper's form. But of course these are not Sapphics at all, even if we could agree to the metre being based on accent instead of quantity; as Saintsbury has pointed out the only genuine example in English is Swinburne's poem beginning 'All the night long sleep came not upon my eyelids'. Whatever the theory underlying Home's practice may have been, his translation reads smoothly enough if accepted as blank verse with a feminine ending, and thus we have preferred to read it.

The only other points of interest in the prefaces are that the first states that the translation is 'taken from the text of Biagioli, and his interpretation of the disputed passages has been generally accepted', and that the second finishes with the bare statement: 'The last two cantos of the *Purgatorio* have been omitted, as being in the nature of an anti-climax'. His footnotes show him to have been acquainted with the work of other English translators; in one of them he quotes in turn the renderings of Wright, Cary, Longfellow, Plumptre, Ramsay and Shadwell.

Generally, Home's translation makes pleasant reading. His style, if undistinguished, is unforced; he uses few archaisms, inversions of awkward constructions. There is inevitably a certain resemblance to the similarly conceived versions of Lee-Hamilton and Griffiths, and some verbal coincidence. Home is not so clumsy as Lee-Hamilton, nor so prosaic as Griffiths; and he resorts to paraphrase oftener than either of them. To supplement the passage from canto II reproduced in Appendix I, three of his better efforts are given below.

Like unto sheep when from the fold they issue,
First one, then two, then three, the while the others,
Timidly holding down their eyes and nozzles,

All follow the example of the foremost, -
 If she stand still, the others press behind her,
 Simple and quiet, though they know not wherefore. (III.79-84)

It was the hour when, as the dawn approacheth,
 The swallow doth begin her plaintive music,
 Mindful, it may be, of her former sorrows; -
 When the imagination, most a wanderer
 From out the flesh, and least by thought restrained,
 Is in its visions almost as a prophet,
 I dreamed that there appeared to me an eagle,
 With wings of gold, suspended in the heavens,
 His pinions open, and prepared for swooping;
 It seemed, too, that the place o'er which he hovered
 Was that where Ganymede his kin abandoned,
 When to the high consistory he was carried.
 And in my dream I thought: 'Perchance his habit
 Is but to strike from hence, and he disdaineth
 From elsewhere to bear any in his talons.'
 Then, after wheeling round and round a little,
 Terrible as the lightning he descended,
 And bare me upward to the fire celestial!
 There did it seem that he and I were burning,
 And that imagined fire so fiercely scorched me
 It could not but be that my sleep was broken. (IX.13-33)

And my own spirit, now so long a stranger
 Unto that awe and trembling which possessed me
 When I in former days stood in her presence,
 Now through some hidden power from her proceeding,
 Though by mine eyes I had as yet no knowledge,
 Felt all the force of ancient love returning.
 As soon as on my sight that lofty virtue
 Smote me, which had, in years gone by, transfixed me
 Even ere I had passed the age of boyhood,
 I turned to my left side, with that reliance
 Wherewith a little child runs to his mother
 When anything doth frighten or afflict him, -
 Meaning to say to Virgil: 'Through my body
 No drachm of blood remains which doth not tremble:
 I feel the signs of ancient fires reviving.'
 But he had disappeared - his place was empty;
 Virgil, who was to me the sweetest Father, -
 Virgil, to whom I gave myself for safety! (XXX.34-51)

Home indulges in few striking or unusual expressions; his most remarkable departure from the literal text is in X.78 where he makes 'di lacrime atteggiata e di dolore' into 'like to a statue brought to life by sorrow'.

One feels that by the date he wrote Home might have found some other authority than Biagioli; his choice suggests that he was not familiar with the recent developments in the study of the Divine Comedy. Even so, he would have fared better in the matter of accuracy had he read his source more carefully. The worst blemish of Home's version is the presence of a number of obvious and elementary mistranslations, most of which could have been avoided by reference to Biagioli's notes. For instance in II.91-2 Home has:

'Casella mine,' I cried, 'I make this journey
But to return unto my earthly dwelling',

thus following Biagioli's doubtful interpretation 'là dove io son nato' (although more recently Passerini has adopted it, but Barbi throws his weight against it in the new series of Problemi). But a few lines further on (98-9) he renders:

True is it he these last three months hath carried
Those who desired into all peace to enter,

whereas the Italian is 'con tutta pace' and Biagioli notes that it = 'senza difficoltà alcuna'. Again in V.5 Home renders:

. . . Behold how the sun's rays appear not
On the left side of him down there below us,

although both text and Biagioli's note make it quite clear that the spirits are below the poets, and 'quel di sotto' refers to Dante being behind, and therefore lower than Virgil. Home has misunderstood the simile in V.37-9, for he translates:

Never at nightfall saw I burning vapours
Through the serene of heaven descend so quickly,
Or clouds of August dissipate at sunset.

He may have misunderstood Biagioli's long note, but it ends quite clearly:

'Adunque io costruisco e spiego così: nè vidi mai vapori accesi fender nuvole sì tosto'. In VI.21 Home has rendered 'come dicea' by 'men say',

but Biagioli explains at some length: 'come dicea, cioè come quell'anima diceva ella stessa là dove il poter peccare non è più suo'. In VII.46 Home makes the common mistake of rendering 'quà remote' as 'yonder, afar', although in line 64 the travellers reach the place referred to when they 'had but little from the place departed'. The most startling of Home's blunders is in XIII.136-40 which reads:

'Much greater is the fear, in which suspended
My mind remaineth, of infernal torments:
Even now the burden of them presseth on me.'
And she to me: 'Who then hath brought thee hither
If to return again below thou fearest?'

No commentator or other translator seems ever to have imagined that 'il tormento di sotto' refers to anything but the punishment of the proud in the circle below; and it is difficult to imagine why Home should suggest that Dante is still in doubt as to his ultimate salvation. XXIII.44-5 reads:

But in his face there was discovered to me
That which his visage kept concealed within it,

which is manifestly absurd, so that 'face' is probably a misprint for 'voice'. Other translators have gone wrong with XXVII.47-8 where Home has

Beseeching Statius, who was parted from us
At first by a long distance, to come after,

although again Biagioli's note makes the correct meaning quite clear.

Biagioli gives a straightforward prose paraphrase of XXX.31-3, but Home's version is awkwardly expressed:

Above a snowy veil, with olive tinted,
Appeared to me a Lady, clothed in raiment
Like living flame, beneath a verdant mantle.

Evidently Home failed to see that 'cinta' agrees with 'donna' and not with 'vel'. In lines 58-60 of the same canto Home has:

As when an admiral, upon his vessel,
From poop or prow looks forth upon the sailors,
Working upon the masts, and gives them courage,

i/ where perhaps he was misled by Biagioli's reading 'alti legni' instead of the more usual 'altri', although in the note on the line the phrase is clearly glossed as 'per le nave che vanno sotto la sua scorta'.

There is an extraordinary footnote to XXVIII.10, 'Whereon the Holy Mount first casts its shadow' which reads 'i.e. towards the east, since the sun rises in the west in the under world'. Evidently astronomy was not Home's best subject, nor had he stopped to check up on the indications of direction, which are correctly followed out by Biagioli, up to the quite definite 'so that I was facing ~~xxx~~ to the eastward', as Home renders XXIX.11. Biagioli's note on XXVIII.10 reads: 'alla parte ove il santo monte gitta la prima sua ombra, quella che fa al primo apparir del sole, la qual parte si è l'occidente'. Home may have connected 'occidente' here with 'il primo apparir del sole', and vaguely conscious that many things are the other way round in the southern hemisphere, have made this blunder.

The total impression given by Home's translation is that he was a man of considerable ability, with a decided literary gift, but that his knowledge of the text he was translating, as well as his Italian scholarship, was a trifle sketchy. One feels also that he lacked the time or patience to make sure of his ground in the first place and to revise adequately what he had written.